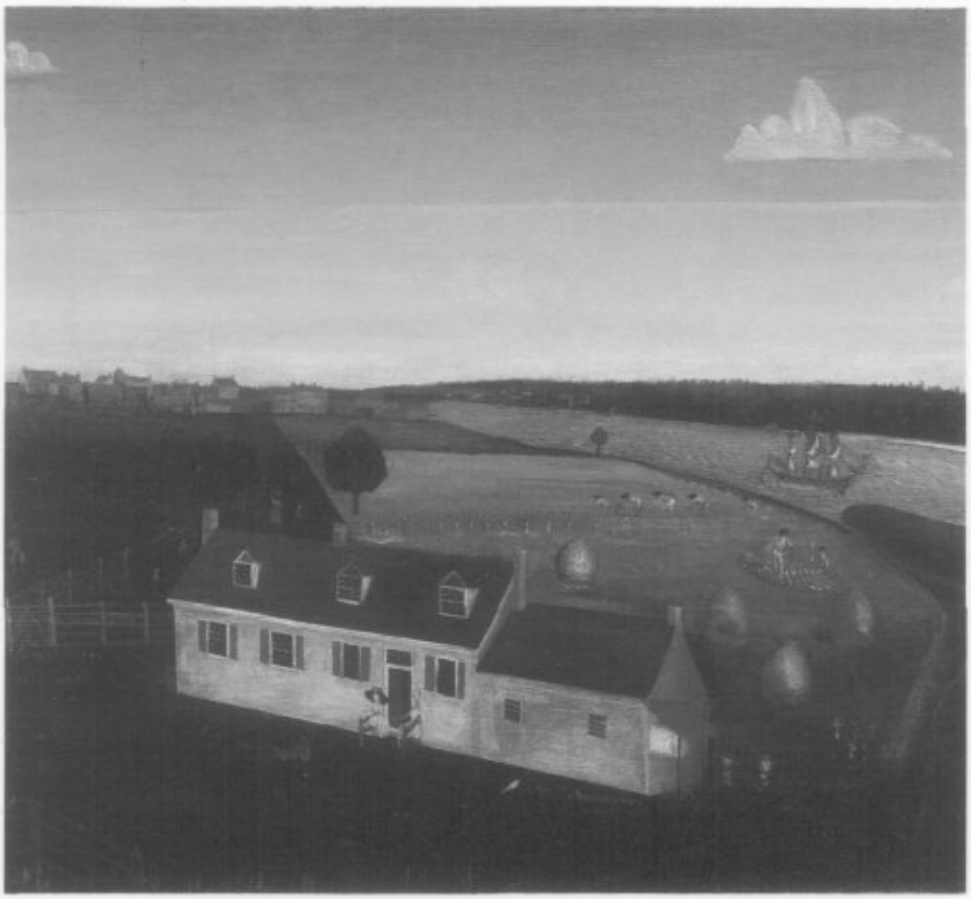
Maryland Historical Magazine



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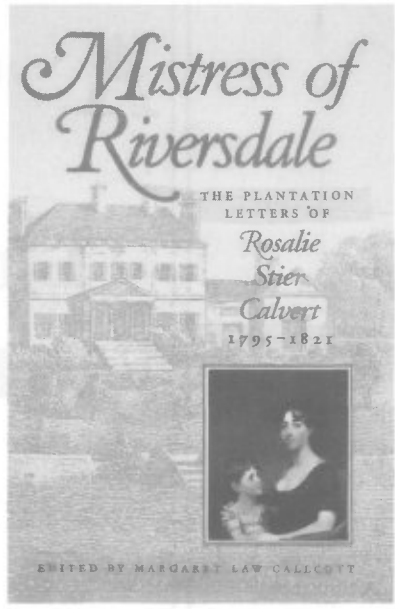

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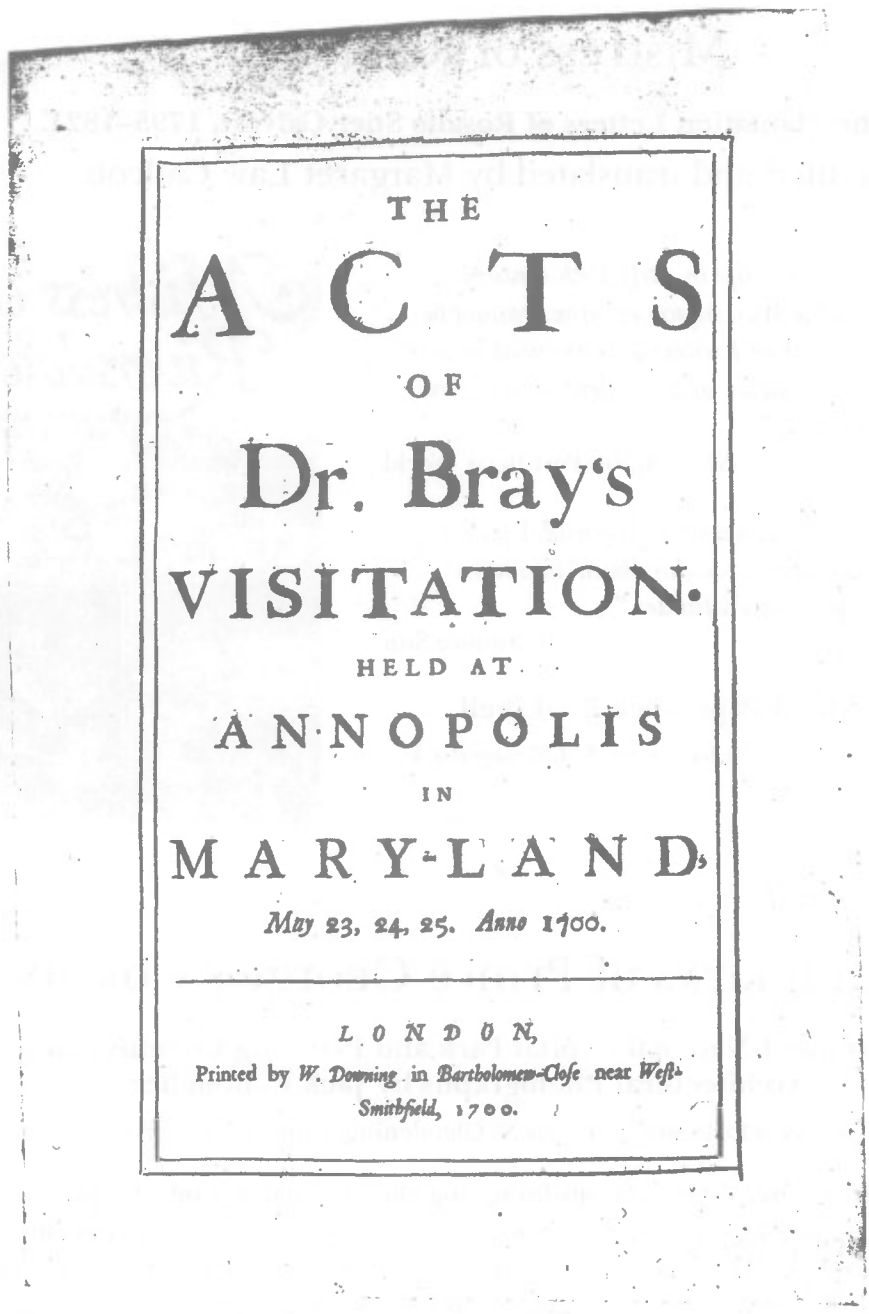

THE

ACTS

OF

Dr. Bray's

VISITATION.

HELD AT

ANNOPOLIS

IN

MARY-LAND,

May 23, 24, 25. *Anno* 1700.

LONDON,

Printed by *W. Downing* in *Bartholomew-Close* near *West-Smithfield*, 1700.

Early in 1700, at the State House in Annapolis, the Reverend Thomas Bray presided over the first convocation of Anglican priests in Maryland. The bishop of London's commissary for Maryland and founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Reverend Bray played a prominent role in the establishment of the Anglican church in Maryland (achieved in 1702), which both Quakers and Catholics strongly opposed. The Annapolis meeting recounted in this booklet resolved, among other things, to support Christian education and encourage more frequent celebration of the Eucharist.

"The Collapse of Equity": Catholic and Quaker Dissenters in Maryland, 1692–1720

MICHAEL J. GRAHAM, S.J.

The attachment of Catholics and Quakers to Maryland's seventeenth-century tradition of religious toleration never appeared clearer than when that tradition ended as the eighteenth century began. An aftershock of Maryland's "revolution of government" of 1689 and the consequent royalization of Maryland's government, the establishment of the Church of England there turned Maryland's ecclesiastic life on its head. Catholics and Quakers had once found in their faiths a shield against the uncertainties of early Chesapeake life and a community through which they were able to enjoy powerful advantages in early Maryland. Now they found themselves dissenters. From 1692 to 1715 they pinned their hopes for relief from establishment's novel order on the restoration of Lord Baltimore's government. These hopes evaporated with the reconciliation of Benedict Leonard Calvert, the proprietary heir, to Anglicanism in 1713.[1]

After 1692 Catholics and Quakers in Maryland, Catholics especially, faced a government whose clear goal was to isolate them. The government and the established church largely succeeded in this goal, bringing to bear a variety of pressures to collar these dissenters. Additional forces, products of the maturation of Chesapeake society, intersected with these deliberate goals of public policy to threaten the dissenters further. Despite their vigorous protests, Catholics and Quakers found themselves increasingly separated from the main currents of colonial life. While Catholics were able to discover some measure of solidarity in their forced withdrawal from the official world of colonial Maryland, forces not directly unleashed by the establishment combined with establishment-induced pressures to erode the Quaker community. Yet both groups retained a proud sense of their own distinct identities and were finally able to find a kind of triumph in their spirited debates with the provincial government over their rights and liberties as Englishmen.

Professor Graham teaches early American history at Xavier University in Cincinnati.

Before tracing the effects of toleration's end upon the Catholic and Quaker communities, it will first be helpful to recount briefly the history of official hostility to these groups through the early eighteenth century. Not only can this account help establish the context in which the specific changes within these communities occurred, it also reveals some important continuities between seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Maryland, continuities that ultimately helped shield Maryland's Catholics and Quakers from the efforts of those who opposed them the most forcefully.

The victory of the Protestant Associators, the replacement of proprietary rule by royal government, and the official establishment of the Church of England installed anti-Catholic and anti-Quaker stereotypes as axioms of public policy. For all their differences, Catholics and Quakers were together considered to represent the most serious domestic threat to the new royal government and the established church it sponsored. Consequently the early years of the Anglican establishment in Maryland were marked by a deep fear of Catholic and Quaker subversion of the new order. Church leaders and royal governors conducted their business with one suspicious eye cast in the dissenters' direction, blamed them for various failures of ecclesiastical policy, and sought to restrict them by direct action.[2] That this should be so ought not to be surprising. The Anglican clergy who ministered in Maryland during this period and the royal governors who were sent there were not native Marylanders. They were Englishmen who were both unfamiliar with and suspicious of the privileged place Catholics and Quakers occupied in Maryland owing to religious toleration; these newcomers likewise expected England's own happy marriage of royal government and Anglican church, confirmed in the Glorious Revolution, to prevail as well in Maryland. Just as, in the 1670s and 1680s, the immigration of English Protestants unfamiliar with Maryland's tradition of toleration helped feed the discontent that exploded with the Protestant Associators in 1689, so the presence of these highly placed newcomers in the 1690s and beyond likewise helped steer official policy in anti-Quaker and anti-Catholic directions.[3]

Fear of Catholic and Quaker subversion was especially characteristic of Maryland's Anglican clergy. Churchmen in the early era of establishment were acutely aware of the competition against the Church of England provided by Catholics on the one side and the Quakers on the other. Letters to their bishops in England and their own internal discussions bemoaned this dual threat. Their letter to the bishop of London in 1696 reflected the common view that Catholics and Quakers both deluded "many of the Church men themselves by their extemporary prayers and preachments, for which they were admitted by the people and got money of them." As the last phrase hints, the primary point of the clergy's letter was to complain to the Bishop of inadequate clerical revenues, and so the clergy stressed the importance of granting no exemptions from the obligation to support the church through the assessment of forty pounds of tobacco per poll because many "would turn either Papist or Quaker" to escape the tax.[4]

Thomas Bray and later commissaries likewise viewed their work in Maryland as hobbled by Catholics and Quakers. Bray was especially aware of the danger to the

infant church the Quakers posed because he had watched helplessly while skillful Quaker lobbying unraveled the third attempt to secure the legal establishment of the church in Maryland. He argued strongly for the need for a commissary to succeed him, the better to superintend the province's clergy:

> to prevent their falling into any disorders, which may be very fatal in Maryland, especially because of the great number of Popish Priests & the virulency of the Quakers there, who so narrowly watch our Missionaries' Haltings, & are so against, not only to aggravate their miscarriages, but to make the worst use of them.[5]

Bray's successor as Commissary for the Eastern Shore, the Reverend Christopher Wilkinson, worried over the continued threat both groups posed as late as 1718 and warned the Bishop of London that some people in the lower house of the assembly opposed extending the Bishop's jurisdiction to Maryland on the dubious grounds "that it was tyrannical, and would be a means to drive people from the Church to the Roman Catholics and Quakers."[6]

For all their differences, Catholics and Quakers were sometimes imagined to be conspiring together against the infant Church of England. The Anglican clergy believed that Catholics and Quakers had put aside superficial differences the better to break the establishment and suggested to their Bishop that "as far removed as the Quakers and Papists seem to be in their different sentiments about religion, they are jointly bent against our Church and daily endeavor to draw people to their parties."[7] Thomas Bray feared as well that Quakers and Catholics constituted a "joint Interest" against the church and, in "A Memorial Representing the present Case of the Church in Maryland," noted with suspicion how the Quakers' successful campaign to disallow the 1696 establishment act coincided with a sudden influx of Catholic clergy, leaving Maryland "Destitute of a Protestant Ministry . . . at a Juncture when more Priests had of late come in than were before known in the Country at any one time."[8] The possibility that Quakers might somehow be in league with Catholics, or might even indeed be closet Catholics who paved the way for Jesuit missionaries by sowing religious confusion, seemed clear to one Anglican clergyman in New York, who complained to a colleague in Connecticut in 1708 that the presence of a "Popish Mass at Philadelphia" made a certain kind of sense: "I thought the Quakers would be the first to let it in, particularly Mr. Penn, for if he has any religion, tis that."[9]

Suspicion of the place of Catholics and Quakers in Maryland society and distrust of them likewise marked Maryland's royal governors during this period. This was especially true of Francis Nicholson (1694–1699), John Seymour (1704–1709), and John Hart (1714–1720). A report from Nicholson to the Board of Trade in 1697, for example, contained a concise religious history of the colony in which he linked the dominance of Catholics and Quakers before 1689 with the sorry state of public morals in the period. When Baltimore left Maryland for England in 1685 to defend his charter boundaries against the claims of William Penn, Nicholson wrote that "he left the Government in the hands of the Council, the principal of which were

Papists," while "the Quakers were in the Assemblies and other places in the Government." As they controlled the civil government, so they also dominated ecclesiastical arrangements with "the Church Government . . . in the hands of some Jesuits and Priests," and Quakers "dispersed all over the Country." For Nicholson, the consequences of Catholic and Quaker control of Maryland were as lamentable as they were obvious:

> Sabbath breaking, Cursing, swearing, and profane talking; some of the Men having two wives, and some of the women two husbands, whoring and drinking, especially the last were too much practiced in the Country, and seldom were any punished for these Sins.

One of Nicholson's proposals to the Board of Trade favored building "free Schools," in part to put "a stop to the Papists and Quakers and [bring] them over to the reformed Religion."[10] In a later memorandum Nicholson explored the possibility of restricting the liberty of Catholics and Quakers to worship, Catholics because they kept "their chapels and fraternities open to all they can persuade to join them" and Quakers since "'Tis highly probable that in their meetings they contrive ways to raise Moneys to carry on the interests of their party."[11] These same suspicions had occasioned Nicholson's earlier order for a census of Catholic and Quaker clergy, membership, and houses of worship.[12]

A veteran of the 1702 English offensive against Catholic Spain, John Seymour arrived in Maryland in 1704 bearing with him instructions which, in part, ordered him to deny toleration to Maryland's Catholics. He engineered almost immediately a confrontation with Maryland's Jesuits. In September, 1704, Seymour summoned Fathers William Hunter and Robert Brooke before the council. He charged Hunter with consecrating a chapel and Brooke with publicly saying mass at the St. Mary's City Chapel while the county court was in session; both alleged offenses had happened over a year before Seymour's arrival. Hunter and Brooke appeared at the council with their lawyer, proprietary agent Charles Carroll, whom Seymour promptly barred from the proceedings. Hunter denied the charge against him altogether, explaining that only bishops could consecrate chapels, while Brooke defended his actions on the grounds that "others had formerly done so." Neither explanation satisfied Seymour, who launched into a tirade against Jesuit treachery and popish "Superstitious Vanities." He concluded, in part:

> In plain and few words Gentlemen if you intend to live here let me hear no more of these things for if I do and they are made good against you be assured I'll chastise you, and lest you should flatter yourself that the severities of the Laws will be a means to move the pity of your Judges I assure you I do not intend to deal with you so I'll remove the Evil by sending you where you may be dealt with as you deserve. Therefore as I told you, I'll make but this one trial and advise you to be civil and Modest for there is no other way for you to live quietly here.[13]

Seymour's dismissal of the Jesuits with no further punishment suggests that he had orchestrated the entire affair to put the Catholic clergy on notice that he would tolerate no difficulties with them. However, he demonstrated the sincerity of his intention by closing the Catholic chapel in St. Mary's City on the same day, declaring it both "scandalous and offensive to the government."[14]

Within a month Seymour extended this harassment in an unprecedented direction. During the last week of the fall session, 1704, he rammed through the assembly an "Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery." His haste in the matter effectively prevented the Catholics from organizing opposition in the assembly, where, as Seymour realized, scattered opposition to the move clearly existed.[15] The act provided for the punishment of any priest caught baptizing the children of non-Catholics or converting or attempting to convert any Protestant, and for the conviction and banishment to England of any Catholic, lay or clergy, who kept a school, or for any priest who celebrated mass or "exercise[d] any other part of the office or function of a Popish bishop or priest within this Province."[16] While no priest was ever successfully prosecuted under the act, it shackled the Jesuit clergy in the province, and made it illegal for Catholics even to worship, since the Jesuits could not legally function as priests at all.[17]

Like Seymour, John Hart was a military officer with Spanish experience. Unlike Seymour, he was an Irish Protestant. Together, these experiences doubtless predisposed him to obey scrupulously the royal instructions that bade him limit religious toleration to non-Catholics only. Hart was especially disturbed over the war of attrition he perceived Maryland's Jesuit clergy to be waging against the Church of England. Shortly after his arrival in the colony in 1715, Hart informed the Bishop of London that "it grieves me to hear daily of the numbers leaving [the Church of England] and going over to the Roman Catholics and dissenting congregations, but none abandoning their Errors, and embracing true religion."[18] For Hart, Catholic and dissenter expansion continued to pose a significant threat to both the operation of the royal government and the establishment of the Church of England in the colony. He counselled the Anglican clergy to be on their best behavior and give the Jesuits no satisfaction through their own failings. As Hart remarked, again to the Bishop of London, "The advantages which the Jesuits have from [the Anglican clergy's] negligence is but too evident in the many proselytes they make . . . *Mais les Jesuites son Jesuites par tout.*"[19]

Standing between the dissenters on the one side and the governors and Anglican clergy on the other was the assembly. The zealous anti-Catholic policies favored by Nicholson, Seymour, or Hart were often in this period softened or blocked by the lower house, whose members were sometimes related directly to important Catholic families or who seem to have sympathized with prosperous Catholic planters who were their peers. For example, the lower house prevented the governor and the upper house from seizing the arms of Catholics in 1696 during rumors of an Indian uprising. Likewise, when Governor Seymour succeeded in passing the "Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery" in 1704 and closed the chapel at St. Mary's City, the assembly's lower house somewhat blunted the impact of his

efforts. A "Roman Catholique Remonstrance" presented to them by a number of prominent Catholics requested the suspension of "the prosecution of any Romish Priest incurring the Penalty of the late Act by executing the function in a private Roman Catholique family." The assembly quickly agreed to the suspension and noted in its discussion that the "true intent of the said Act was only to restrain some exorbitant Accons in the said Popish Bishops Priests and Jesuits, who it is hoped are thereby made sensible of their Extravagant Demeanor in their Pernicious and Indirect Practices."[20]

Nonetheless two sorts of factors could intervene to dissuade the assembly from protecting Maryland's Catholics and lead it to side with the royal governor. The harshest anti-Catholic legislation of the period issued from these occasions. The first factor was the international situation. Between 1689 and 1720 England was almost constantly at war with Catholic nations, and it is probably not accidental that Seymour's moves against Maryland's Catholics in 1704 came roughly a year after Queen Anne's War expanded to involve the northern American colonies; the war raised the specter of a French-Canadian plot against Protestant Maryland in which Maryland's Catholics would be automatically implicated. Additionally, continued attempts of the Stuarts to regain England's throne, whether real or rumored, likewise caused the lower house to look upon Maryland's Catholics with distrust. Routine charges of Jacobite activity among Catholic Marylanders received support through rumors of Catholics toasting to "the Pretender's Health as King of Great Britain," the continued hope for the proprietor's return to power (especially before Baltimore's conversion to Anglicanism in 1713), the discovery of a vaguely worded but ultimately harmless letter from Jesuit Peter Attwood in 1716, and the intemperate action of some hoodlums in discharging cannons on the Pretender's birthday in the same year.[21] Thomas Bray's report on the condition of the Church of England in Maryland in 1700 set the Catholic threat into the appropriate international context:

> It may prove of fatal Consequence to his Majesty's Interest to have that Country in the Center of all his Provinces on the Continent of America exposed to the Perversions of the Popish Priests at a Juncture when the French from Canada are so notoriously Diligent in sending their Emissaries amongst the Indians lying on the back of this and the other Colonies, to draw them into their Superstition and Alliance. Into whose Religion and Interests also should the Priests bring Maryland, It is obvious to any that know its situation, how that would affect all the English Plantations on the Continent.[22]

The second factor crucial in alienating assembly support for Maryland's Catholics was the occasionally aggressive behavior of Maryland Catholics themselves in rejecting the new order of establishment. Whether it was the impolitic rumormongering and late-night cannonades of disgruntled Maryland Jacobites or the on-going proselytizing of the Jesuit clergy there, Maryland's Catholics too frequently violated the tacit understanding the assembly hoped it had with them

wherein they were supposed to accept quietly their banishment from public life. On such occasions the assembly did not hesitate to join with the royal governor in teaching the dissenters a harsh lesson.[23]

An animated controversy between Gov. John Hart and the prominent lay Catholic, Charles Carroll, in 1715–1717 demonstrated the interplay of the various forces that helped determine official policy towards Maryland Catholics. Significantly, the affair began amidst the twin rumors of an imminent restoration of proprietary rule and a Stuart invasion of Scotland.

Carroll had acted as Lord Baltimore's agent and receiver general in the colony throughout much of the royal period and took advantage of the shift from royal to proprietary rule in December, 1715, to have himself constituted naval officer of the province by the guardian of the underage proprietor. As naval officer, Carroll cultivated influence in the assembly and also claimed half the fees paid for patenting lands, fees which had gone chiefly to the governor throughout the royal period. Governor Hart was understandably angered by Carroll's claims, but in response to Hart's threats Carroll froze all patent requests and thereby threw the colony's land office into chaos. Additionally, Carroll used the office as a power base from which he challenged not only Hart but the entire post-revolutionary political structure of the province. Hart out-maneuvered Carroll and won the argument by appealing to the young Lord Baltimore's guardian, Lord Guilford, who expressed his shock at Carroll's activity and quickly withdrew the commission, stripping Carroll of his powers.[24]

Carroll refused to surrender, however, and carried on a war of petitions against Hart with the proprietor. Carroll's gambit and his refusal to concede defeat not only provided Hart with important anti-Catholic propaganda that he used throughout the remainder of his tenure as governor, but, because the disabling oaths were now to be strictly required for all land offices, even surveyors, Carroll's insistence that Catholics had a right to share the provincial government with Protestants cost Catholics the last bit of official power they held in the government.[25]

The cumulative effects of what Hart typified as "these great and Growing Evils" were several, but one in particular paved the way for the rest.[26] Assembly support for Maryland's Catholics vanished. By 1718 members of the lower house railed against Roman Catholics to the Board of Trade on their own:

> The Roman Catholics Ever since the Restoration of the late Lord Baltimore to this Government have been Very Active and busy in projecting Schemes for Introducing Papists into Offices, and from thence as we may reasonably Conjecture, had they not been Prevented would have Asserted their Pretended Claim of Right to Share in the Public Administration of the Affairs of Government.[27]

The erosion of assembly support for the Catholics opened the way for the harshest anti-Catholic actions of the period. Both clergy and laymen were affected. In 1716 and 1717 Jesuits were arrested in Maryland, though some temporarily went into hiding to avoid indictment for "exercising their functions," as a Jesuit

report put it.[28] No prosecutions appear to have occurred, and the imprisonments lasted less than a year. More durable measures were taken against lay Catholics, reflecting the new belief of the assembly that lay Catholics constituted the same threat to the peace and order of the province that Jesuits did. A series of anti-Catholic acts passed under Governor Hart. In 1715 the assembly provided for the Protestant upbringing of Protestant orphans if the widow were Catholic and the removal of such children from their Catholic mothers, the better to ensure compliance with the law. The Assembly in 1716 imposed oaths of allegiance for all offices or "places of trust" in the colony—clear fallout from the Carroll affair—to provide "for the better security of the peace and safety of his Lordship's government, and the Protestant interest within this Province." In the following year lawmakers settled on doubling the tax on Irish Catholic servants when the proprietor vetoed a stiffer impost. More importantly, the assembly repealed the 1704 Act Against Popery entirely, justifying the cancellation on the grounds that merely suspending it had resulted in "sundry great disputes . . . among the Romanists" and simultaneously declared that

> by one act of Parliament made in the 11th and 12th year of the reign of his late Majesty, King William III, Chap. 4, there is good provision made to prevent the growth of Popery, as well in this province and throughout all other his Majesty's dominions, and that an act of assembly of this province can in no way alter the effect of that statute.[29]

Finally, in 1718, the lower house proposed, the full assembly passed, and Governor Hart readily assented to the disfranchising of Maryland's Catholics. The impatient attitude of delegates surfaced in their justification to the Board of Trade:

> But such is the restless Spirit of those People that not Content with the favour and Indulgence of the Government in winking at the Allowance of their Worship tho notoriously public they were very busy in making Interest and Parties for Votes at the Election of Delegates to serve in Assembly, which being Observed by the Lower House and apprehending the same practice at Election of a Citizen to serve this present Session of Assembly for the City of Annapolis they prepared a bill to disable the Papists & all others (Quakers Excepted) who are otherwise Qualified That Should refuse the Oath Appointed by Law from giving their Votes at the Election for burgesses to Serve in Assembly. . . .[30]

Political and religious themes converged here and the Assembly presents itself as having been forced by Roman Catholic intractability into an action it would not have otherwise taken.

The exception of the Quakers from the disfranchising act reveals an important difference in how Catholics and Quakers were viewed in early eighteenth-century Maryland. For Quakers, the central thread in their controversies with the government in the early eighteenth century was their testimony against the church tax. Monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings all routinely counselled Friends to preserve

their witness against the "unchristian" tax (suggesting that many Friends did pay it, if reluctantly) and further advised their members to record carefully "sufferings" on account of the tax. Yet the collapse after 1716 of a special men's meeting established at Patuxent in 1699 to oversee opposition to the tax suggests that Quakers eventually resigned themselves to the inevitability of paying the levy, indirectly through sheriffs' suits if necessary. Beyond this protest, the Quaker community troubled provincial authorities but little. Because they rejected county courts in favor of their own arbitration and refused oaths, they did not compete for seats on the local benches. They handled other functions of local government as well, particularly the care of orphans and their estates and the arbitration of disputes over wills. Quakers were prosperous and exemplary citizens of the colony before 1689; after 1692 their own careful regard for "Truth's order" continued to make them law-abiding and deferential.[31]

The contrast with the Catholics could hardly have appeared clearer. An opening address of Hart to the assembly, and the responses of both houses to that address, leave the distinct impression that the step of disfranchisement would not have been taken had the Catholics kept their peace, avoided conflict with the government over their presumed rights, and voluntarily stopped recruiting converts. That is, had Catholics curbed their "restless and turbulent Spirit" themselves and "Satt Down, and have been Contented and easy under the Protection of the Government, as they were permitted to be"—as the Quakers had done—the legal program culminating in disfranchisement would not have been necessary. In the government's view, Maryland's Roman Catholics had only themselves to blame.[32]

The story of the Catholic and Quaker communities in Maryland following establishment is more than the history of their varied relations with the provincial government, however. Each community found that establishment raised concerns that had to be handled internally. Catholics found themselves suddenly reduced to the status of a distrusted minority sect, a status with which they were historically familiar. Quakers confronted severe strains resulting from their separation from the profane world around them coupled with their own increasing prosperity, and the new ecclesiastical environment of the larger society magnified this problem. Both groups, however, found themselves pressured to maintain their membership in ways they had not faced before. Each drifted steadily farther from the mainstream of provincial life, but while Quakers experienced a declension of sorts in both members and faith, the Catholics turned back upon themselves and steadfastly resisted pressures from the world around them.

One can glimpse the pressures affecting the Quakers in early eighteenth-century Maryland through the records of their various meetings. The concerns they raised in their meetings after 1692 are often enough the same concerns that had elicited discussion long before the Glorious Revolution: meetings still dispatched visitors to counsel Friends against disorderly marriages, to urge an end to lawsuits, or to

oversee concerns regarding Quaker youth, orphans, or estates. But the meeting records after 1692 reflected a variety of concerns over "the Sleepy Spirit that too often prevails in our meetings," that is to say, over the internal health of the meetings themselves. Monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings all became concerned over attendance at many of the weekly meetings. While Quaker meetings had often been small—some congregations at times comprised only a handful of families—some meetings began finding their members staying away, and other meetings vanished altogether.[33] The concern over a slackening spirit is likewise revealed in the supervisory meetings' advisements regarding Friends who took their disputes to the civil courts, a problem that had gotten worse since the seventeenth century. While the number of contentions between Friends remained fairly constant, they ended up in court more often after 1700 than they had before. Quakers sought to resolve this problem in traditional ways and so sent visitors to put a stop to scandalous lawsuits between Friends and urge them to place their troubles before the discipline of the meeting. But after 1700 contentious Friends often enough simply refused to heed this traditional advice.[34]

Quaker marriages to non-Quakers likewise became an increasingly difficult problem. From 1701 to 1710 nearly one fourth of all Quaker marriages that can be discovered were unsanctioned and required the attention of the community to secure a self-condemnation from the outmarrier or, failing this, to begin the painful process of disownment. In some local congregations the figure was worse; in Third Haven Meeting, one of the largest and most influential meetings, outmarriers represented one third of all Quaker marriages in the first decade of the eighteenth century. The community of Friends attempted to solve this problem as they always had done. Friends rumored to be planning a marriage outside the community received friendly visitors who sought to dissuade them from the decision. The more severe sanction of disinheriting outmarriers, first proposed in 1688, became increasingly frequent after 1700. But despite the threat of disownment by the meeting or the loss of a legacy, outmarriages continued, and the community had increasingly to make good on their threats and disown outmarriers. From 1692 to 1720 the Maryland meetings handed out about thirty-four disownments, twenty-two of them for disorderly marriages. But still the hemorrhage continued. More and more, outmarriers and other troublesome Quakers refused to abide by the meeting's judgment against them and simply left the community.[35]

The rising number of outmarriers and civil disputes and the "sleepy spirit" many meetings observed looked familiar to Maryland's Quakers, and they sought to solve the problems in familiar ways. As they had done before in the 1680s, so now in the early 1700s they undertook a broad program of moral reform. This movement included a renewed emphasis on non-payment of the church tax and of adhering to the traditional Quaker witness against bearing arms.[36] And, as in the 1680s, the center of this movement for moral reform was the Quaker family. Quaker women once again took the lead and quickly identified rising Quaker prosperity as the problem that had bred the others. They reiterated their concern over the morally

debilitating effects of wealth and possessions in meeting after meeting, concluding in 1703, for example, that Friends should be

> very careful to keep out of all Imitation of fashions which the world runs into but to keep our plainness of Speech & Plainness in Dresses both in our selves and in our children, laboring in our selves and with them to be clothed with the meek spirit of Jesus as such as are waiting for his coming.

But the problems continued unabated. Meetings vanished one by one; Friends fought Friends in civil courts; young people ran off with non-Quaker spouses.[37]

Two interrelated trends contributed to this increasing tendency of Friends to discard traditional witnesses and break the unity of the meeting. First, the establishment of the Church of England weakened the bonds of the Quaker community by providing Quakers with an ecclesiastical alternative. To have left the Quaker community before the 1690s nearly always forced a Quaker outside the services and fellowship of a Protestant church since Protestant churches were so very few. With the establishment of the Anglican parishes after 1692, an alternative to Quaker life existed, and this alternative grew steadily stronger as the institutional structure of the Church of England caught up to the religious needs of Maryland's Protestants. After 1700 a Quaker who withdrew from the Quaker community always had some place else to go.

But the internal bonds that had held the Friends together were likewise weakened, and the weakening of these bonds constituted the real crisis Maryland's Quakers faced in the eighteenth century and paved the way for the effect of outside forces upon the community. The women's meetings had identified the problem squarely and correctly: wealth. The Quakers' own careful cultivation of such virtues as thrift, frugality, industry, and honesty, together with the continued economic development of the colony, began to produce princely Quaker fortunes in the eighteenth century. Wealthy Quakers increasingly seem to have felt a certain status disjunction between their positions as persons of means and their inability because of their faith to hold the public offices that customarily accompanied wealth. As the eighteenth century advanced, prominent Quakers from time to time renounced their faith and became Anglicans and thus gained entrance to vestry boards, county benches, even the provincial assembly itself.

By the middle of the eighteenth century members of the Chew, Galloway, Bond, Birkhead, and Edmundson families were elected to the assembly following their removal from the Quaker community. While some would maintain ties to that community through a Quaker wife, others would leave it altogether and marry into the local Anglican squirearchy.[38] By 1742 an itinerating English Friend could leave this withering assessment of the state of Maryland Quakerism:

> I went . . . to West River, Herring Creek, Potuxent, and the Clifts. There are very few of the ancients remaining, Peter Sharp and the Galloways, and the Johns's and Harris's being gone, that is, the old People of these Families, and which I have understood were the Principals of those Meetings. Some

> few of their offspring come now and then to Meetings, but have quite lost the Mark, both in Appearance and Conversation, and but very few that can be known to belong to the Society, are, I think, in common Gaudy and fine in their apparel, &c, as any who go under our name . . . at London or Bristol. Things are at a Low Ebb in these parts.[39]

The establishment of the Church of England and the steady increase of the government's hostility towards them following establishment also helped bring about distinct changes in Maryland's Roman Catholic community. Catholics differed from Quakers in several important ways, however, and these differences not only shaped the Catholic response to the end of toleration; they enabled the Catholics to maintain their identity and cohesiveness after 1692 better than the Quakers were able to. Roman Catholics had not left the Church of England and so did not find conversion as acceptable a choice as some Quakers clearly did. Should Catholics be tempted to flirt with conversion, their highly trained corps of counter-reformation clergy was there to remind them of the eternal consequences of their temptation. Catholics also had a tradition of surviving protracted periods of sharp persecution in Elizabeth's reign, and so, after the Anglican establishment in Maryland, as the civil government sought to force their withdrawal from active public life, the Catholic community closed in on itself and recovered the survival strategies that it had developed then.[40]

Maryland Catholics always had supported their church and its activities through voluntary bequests, but this tradition now became more important than ever. Catholics left legacies in their wills to furnish chapels, relieve the poor, and assist their clergy in various pious activities, and Catholic bequests outstrip bequests left by non-Catholics. These legacies often contributed to the "private" chapels wealthier Catholics maintained on their estates which became the focal points for Catholic life and worship in the localities. Outside of heavily Catholic St. Mary's County, Catholics depended upon wealthy Catholic neighbors who could maintain private chapels on their own land. The Catholic community outside of St. Mary's County thus adopted the structure of Catholic society in Elizabethan England insofar as it became focused on the homes of wealthier members of the Catholic community scattered throughout the counties. William Boarman was one such patron and was obviously quite conscious of his importance to the Catholic community. His will made the descent of his "dwelling plantation" in Charles County to his son Benedict contingent upon Benedict's maintenance of the family chapel which stood on the land "in good order and repair forever . . . and in Case of any neglect of the said Chappel as afd by my said son or his heirs . . . that the said Land given as aforesaid to fall and Descend to the next surviving heir." Another indicator of the refocusing of public worship on private households is the repeated emphasis in wills and inventories to "Church Stuff"—vestments, books,

vessels and other supplies—which often constituted prized family possessions in Catholic families, lovingly handed on.[41]

The shift in Catholic worship from public chapels to private ones seems to have occurred with no loss in the integrity of the Catholic community. Similarly—and in contrast to the Quaker experience—outmarriage did not seem to have become much of a problem. A few certainly occurred, but the evidence does not indicate the extensive intermarriage of upperclass Catholics and Protestants that has often been presumed. The granting to the Jesuit clergy in 1725 of the faculty to dispense from all degrees of consanguinity except the first and the second suggests that strong pressures existed for Catholics to marry their own kind and that these pressures worked.[42] The adoption of customs from the world around them, a further problem that adversely affected the Quaker community, appears also to have affected Catholics, but with less troubling results. The demands of tobacco culture sometimes conflicted with Catholic holy days during which work was to be avoided; but here again, the Jesuits received permission to authorize dispensations. While patterns of Catholic life doubtless reflected the habits of the planter class to which many of them belonged and which many of the rest probably emulated, these pressures did not pose the threat for Catholics that they did for Quakers, because Catholic life did not depend upon a sharp separation from the profane world around them.[43]

Some evidence suggests that some ways of conforming to the dominant planter culture around them may have been more dangerous to Catholics who sought to keep their faith than simply working on holy days. Consequently, Catholics appear to have been concerned over their children's schooling. Some Catholic parents even asked a priest to see to the education of their children after their own deaths, and those who had the money—Carrolls, Neales, Diggeses, and Gardiners, for example—often sent their sons to Catholic schools in Europe such as St. Omer. Other precautions could be taken as well to guard the faith of their children. James Carroll left a bequest to his nephew Anthony to enable him to study "Law or physick but physick rather as it may afford the least temptation to change his Religion."[44]

Carroll's legacy raises an interesting question: after their exclusion from offices of political authority, did prominent Catholics experience the status disjunction that prominent Quakers did and seek to resolve the conflict through conversion? Here, the case of Thomas Brooke is instructive. The son of Thomas Brooke (d. 1676), a convert to Catholicism, Brooke was raised in a strong Catholic household, and his brothers Robert, Ignatius, and Matthew all became Jesuit priests. Following the Glorious Revolution, Brooke became an Anglican. Eventually, he sat on the Calvert County bench, was a vestryman in his parish, won election to the lower house of the assembly and appointment to the council. His children seem all to have married Protestants.[45] Yet his conversion and subsequent political career are instructive precisely because they are exceptional. The proprietary family aside, no member of a Maryland Catholic family other than Brooke converted and held prominent political office on the provincial level for the remainder of the colonial period. Several Neales became Jesuit priests, and a Digges and a Gardiner con-

sidered it, but Catholics rejected the lure of public life and chose their religion over politics.[46]

Maryland's Catholic community thus presents a picture of measured vitality following the Anglican establishment. While pressured and persecuted, it did not break, and although the community was forced to turn in upon itself, it adapted to the changing world of eighteenth-century Maryland and survived. Indeed, buttressed by the immigration of Irish Catholics and the continued flow of a highly trained clergy, sharing a religious identity that blocked the religious cross-breeding Quakers experienced in the midst of an Anglican world, and possessing a tradition of survival in hard times, Maryland's Roman Catholic community did not merely survive. Rather, the expansion of the Catholic community north and east across the Chesapeake Bay into Kent County and beyond serves as a sign of the tenacity of Catholic roots in colonial Maryland.

Although the changes made or aided by the Anglican establishment within the dissenter communities were important, one effect of establishment stands above the rest because of its importance not only to the Quakers and Catholics of the period but to us, as well. Under the influence of establishment, Quakers and Catholics reflected upon the history of Maryland, especially on the place of toleration within that history, and advanced arguments for religious toleration firmly rooted in English political theory and practice. While this theory of toleration originated chiefly in attempts to seek redress from specific grievances after 1692 and was consequently more practical than philosophical, it represents, nonetheless, a shift in the development of toleration from pragmatic policy to a principle of right. In a certain sense, the "Case" of the Quakers and the Catholics' "Liberty and Property" mark the end of one era and the beginning of another.

The Quakers' formulation has the claim of precedence. In 1697 they presented "The Case of the People Called Quakers" to Governor Francis Nicholson.[47] The document divides into two parts: a litany of complaints from which the Quakers sought relief and a concluding section set apart and separately titled "An Humble Expostulation." The first part details indirectly the reasons for the document in the first place. The refusal of the new royal government to recognize Quaker attestations in the place of oaths had worked a variety of hardships on the Friends: Quakers could not testify in court on their own behalf; their estates were opened to loss in the case of intestate deaths, when "a stranger [is] perhaps suffered to administer [the estate] to the great injury of the Widow and Orphans"; they experienced difficulties in large-scale trade; and they were unable to be "serviceable both to the King and Inhabitants" of the province owing to their forcible exclusion from all offices. Following this list, the argument shifts slightly, and the Quakers likewise request relief from the tax to support the Anglican church, complaining of their suffering under the tax at the loss of goods "seized and taken from us, that otherwise would be for the support of our families."[48] Both the

petition of grievances arising from their inability to take oaths and their refusal to pay taxes to support "the building of churches [so called] and maintaining of those called Ministers" proceeded from the establishment of the Church of England and its political counterpart, the royal government, and thus with the end of toleration. They were two sides of one fundamental complaint.[49]

The "Humble Expostulation," in which the Quaker "Case" ascends from specific issues to questions of justice, makes this fundamental complaint explicit. Their argument appeals to the long tradition of toleration in Maryland, where "large promises of liberty to tender consciences" had induced many settlers to come to Maryland, "expecting to enjoy the liberty of their consciences without being debarred of their English rights and privileges."[50] The Quakers then represent themselves as entitled to the same rights as other Englishmen, rights secured under toleration but lost through establishment. The "Case" finds its most eloquent language near its end:

> But above all it seems hard on us that since we are the Kings good subjects, and may, by our English birthright, expect the privileges of Englishmen in all respects, and since we are under the Government and protection of the same Prince with other neighbors of Pennsylvania and other American Plantations, that yet we must not enjoy the same English rights and liberties which they do, let it be judged in the collapse of equity whether we have not cause to complain.[51]

The Catholic equivalent of the Quaker petition appeared more than twenty years later and, while much longer than the Quakers' "Case," is remarkably similar in its central argument and conclusion. Grandly entitled "Liberty and Property, or the Beauty of Maryland Displayed, Being a brief and Candid Inquiry into her Charter, Fundamental Laws, & Conclusion," the pamphlet is history with an argumentative edge. Objecting to the extension of the English penal laws to Maryland and, indeed, seeking to roll back the Anglican establishment itself and restore the pre-revolutionary status quo, the pamphlet's presentation of Maryland's history builds upon a series of contrasts: the happy concord of Maryland's heterogeneous people during toleration versus the rise of factions and parties that followed establishment; the robust growth of the colony during toleration versus the threat of depopulation presented by establishment; and the security of property and political rights under toleration versus the threats against both that marked establishment. The pamphlet stitches these contrasting pairs together with the general themes of the steady approbation of the crown and others given to Maryland's dissenters, especially the Catholics, as well as the unfairness of imposing restrictions on the descendants of the many settlers who had flocked to Maryland precisely for its distinctive freedom of conscience.[52]

This theme of unfairness reveals the meaning of the title "Liberty and Property" and hence provides the key to understanding the pamphlet generally. The pamphlet argues that the motives of Maryland's early settlers were fundamentally religious. Yet unlike the religious motives of the settlers of New England, which

issued in various attempts at building holy commonwealths, the religious goals of the early "Marylandians" were built upon the desire to extend traditional English freedoms. Religious freedom was the "Fundamental Law" of Maryland because, through it, dissenters of all stripes were able to share basic political and economic freedoms—"Liberty and Property"—"equally and without distinction," as the patrimony of Englishmen.

The Catholic position the pamphlet presents is simply this: the Maryland design had perfected English freedoms by extending them through the privatization of religion and thereby qualified even religious dissenters for public freedoms. The Catholic appeal for a return to toleration, like the Quaker "Case," is based upon a *reductio ad absurdam*: in removing the linchpin of toleration, the royal government had restored religion to the realm of public concern and thereby destroyed the basic rights of many "Marylandian" Englishmen. The dissenter counterstrategy—whether Catholic or Quaker—was thus to appeal to their Anglican countrymen as fellow Englishmen, possessed of Englishmen's rights. In so doing, they linked religious freedom to traditional English political and property rights.

By 1720 religious toleration in Maryland had come full circle. Begun as a principled but highly pragmatic policy that evolved in fits and starts under the early Baltimores, it gained its first theoretical statement only after the establishment of the Church of England and the end of the freedoms it had made possible. Having originally unified dissenters from either end of England's religious spectrum against the Anglican middle, Catholics and Quakers still found substantial agreement, even common cause, in their pleas for a return to the religious liberty under which they had prospered in Maryland's difficult early years. And while the Catholic Calverts would undoubtedly have been disappointed in how their experiment finally turned out, it was appropriate that Catholics and Quakers, those who had benefited most from Cecilius Calvert's gamble, were able to pay back their profound debt to him by refashioning into a fundamental right the religious freedom he had only haltingly conceived.

NOTES

1. Among the best recent works on religious toleration in early Maryland are David W. Jordan's "'The Miracle of This Age': Maryland's Experiment in Religious Toleration, 1649–1689," *Historian*, 47 (1985): 338–59; Lois Green Carr's "Toleration in Maryland: Why It Ended," in *Lectures on the History of Religious Toleration in Maryland* (Baltimore: Loyola College, 1984), pp. 51–62; John D. Krugler's "Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholics, and Toleration: Religious Policy in Maryland during the Early Catholic Years, 1634-1639," *Catholic Historical Review*, 45 (1979): 49–75; and Russell R. Menard and Lois Green Carr, "The Lords Baltimore and the Colonization of Maryland," in David B. Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982), pp. 183–85. The best account of the spread of England's "Glorious Revolution" to Maryland remains Lois Green Carr

and David William Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974); for descriptions of Catholics and Quakers as dissenters following the revolution, see pp. 61–63, 79, 141–42, 151, 170, 203–4, 212–14. On the life of Catholic and Quaker communities under religious toleration in the seventeenth century, see Michael Graham, "Meetinghouse and Chapel: Religion and Community in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, *Colonial Chesapeake Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), pp. 242–74.

2. As noted above, Carr and Jordan discuss the place of Quakers in post-revolutionary Maryland in their *Maryland's Revolution of Government*. For other discussions of the problems Quakers posed to the government and the church in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Maryland, see David W. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland, 1689–1715" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1966), pp. 267–81; Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore: Church Historical Society for the Diocese of Maryland, 1956), pp. 25–26; William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (4 vols.; New York: AMS Press, 1969), 4:26–28; Kenneth Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of the State Church in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 45 (1970): 149–70; and David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 209–13. Carr and Jordan also summarize well the impact of establishment of the Anglican church and royal government on Roman Catholics in their *Maryland's Revolution of Government*, as noted above in note 1. However, the best discussion of this subject is in the paper presented by Beatriz Betancourt at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians in 1991, "To Prevent the Growth of Popery: The Government of Maryland and the Catholics, 1689–1776." See also David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland*, pp. 166–67.

3. On the influx into Maryland of English Protestants unfamiliar with its liberal religious policy as a source of friction that led to the revolution of the Protestant Associators there, see Lois Green Carr, "Toleration in Maryland: Why It Ended," p. 54, and Michael James Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634–1724" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1983), pp. 233–50.

4. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 4:8–13.

5. Ibid., and the "Journal of Dr. Bray's Visitation," in Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library (Library of Congress, microfilm), 1, 141–49 (hereafter, Fulham Papers).

6. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 4:106–7.

7. Ibid., 4:12.

8. Ibid.

9. Letter cited by Thomas Hughes in his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, 2: *Documents* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1908).

10. William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 23:81, 83 (hereafter cited as *Md. Archives*).

11. Ibid., 25:583.

12. See the "Return of Romish Priests and Lay Brothers resident in the Province of Maryland, together with returns of Quakers and other Dissenters," pursuant to Nicholson's order of August 10, 1697, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 4:8–13.

13. *Md. Archives*, 26:44–46, 160 (quotation on p. 44). See also Hughes, *Documents*, pp. 454–56, and *Md. Archives*, 24:385, 25:178.

14. *Md. Archives*, 26:46.

15. See Seymour's comments on the Jesuit and Roman Catholic "parties" in the assembly at the time, cited in Hughes, *Documents*, pp. 457–60.

16. *Md. Archives*, 26:340.

17. In commenting on the battery of anti-Catholic legislation passed in 1704 at Governor Seymour's insistence, Beatriz Betancourt perceptively notes how severe it must have seemed to contemporary Catholics, despite the lower house's softening it by suspending the part of the act that banned worship in private homes and despite the fact that no one was ever prosecuted under it—something far clearer in retrospect than it would have appeared at the time. See Betancourt, "To Prevent the Growth of Popery," pp. 15–16. Gerald R. Fogarty, S.J., observes that the assembly's suspension of the ban on Catholic worship in private homes opened the way for Catholic priests to celebrate the sacraments in their homes since they too were property owners. See his "Property and Religious Liberty in Colonial Maryland Catholic Thought," *Catholic Historical Review*, 72 (1986): 573–600, especially pp. 525–26.

18. See Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 4:78, 81, 102 (quotation on p. 81). Other quotation in *Md. Archives*, 29:296.

19. See Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 4:77, 78, 80, 83 (quotation on p. 78).

20. Examples of the lower house interceding with the governor on behalf of the colony's Roman Catholics may be found in *Md. Archives*, 19:36–37, 315, 389–90, 20:224, 22:16, 222. On the actions of Seymour and the assembly pertinent to Maryland's Catholics in 1704, see *Md. Archives*, 25:181, 209–10, 262, 26:380–82, 402, 431–32, 453, 543–47, 591–92, 27:18. Quotations on 26:381–82, 431–32. See also Betancourt's discussion in "To Prevent the Growth of Popery," pp. 12–16.

21. See *Md. Archives*, 22:107, 23:405–6, 470ff., 30:423ff, 25:327–36; quotation in 30:423.

22. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 4:37–38.

23. Betancourt draws together a number of these examples; see "To Prevent the Growth of Popery," pp. 8, 19–22, 28, 36–37.

24. See Betancourt's detailed discussion of the Hart-Carroll controversy in ibid., pp. 25–39.

25. *Md. Archives*, 25:344, 347, 30:422ff.

26. Ibid., 33:484.

27. Ibid., 33:277–78.

28. Cited in Hughes, *Documents*, pp. 480–81.

29. *Md. Archives*, 33:16–17, 144, 150, 152, 109–10, 211, 288–89, 334.

30. Ibid., 33:279.

31. See, for example, the Herring Creek Quarterly Meeting Minutes, fols. 40, 46; the Cliffs Monthly Meeting Minutes, fols. 21, 41; the Third Haven Monthly Meeting, fols. 128, 130, 177, 187, 244; the Cecil Monthly Meeting Minutes, fol. 6; Minutes from the Particular 4-Monthly Meeting at Richard Harrison's, fols. 10, 12 (unless otherwise noted, all Quaker meeting minutes are at the Maryland State Archives, Annapolis). See also Cecil County Judgments, liber E, fols. 367–70, 390–91, and Talbot County Court Judgments, liber 9091, fol. 31, for a similar case in Talbot County in 1699.

32. See Hart's address in 1718 (*Md. Archives*, 33:119-23), the upper house's response (131–32), and the lower house's response (135–39). See as well Hart's address in 1720 (*Md. Archives*, 33:479–85).

33. See minutes from the following meetings: Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting, fol. 59; Women's Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting, fols. 73, 98–99, 102, 103, 105, 114; Cliffs Monthly, fols. 34, 45, 48, 82; West River Monthly, fols. 16, 49, 55, 73, 75; Third Haven Monthly, fols. 115–16, 199, 209, 229, 223–24, 246, 263, 265. Quotations at Third Haven Monthly, fol. 265.

34. See, for example, Herring Creek Quarterly Meeting Minutes, fols. 37, 38, 39; Cliffs Monthly Meeting Minutes, fols. 22, 23; West River Monthly Meeting Minutes, fols. 22, 39; Third Haven Monthly Meeting Minutes, fols. 128, 130, 171, 193, 253, 270; also, Talbot County Judgments, liber 9744, fol. 360; liber 9092, fol. 336; liber 9091, fol. 245. All are examples of Quakers relying on the judgments of the courts in preference to the judgment of the meeting.

35. See, for example, Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting Minutes, fol. 51; Herring Creek Quarterly Meeting Minutes, fols. 62–63; Cliffs Monthly Meeting Minutes, fols. 57, 60, 82, 96, 97, 99; West River Monthly Meeting Minutes, fol. 93; Third Haven Monthly Meeting Minutes, fols. 191–93, 198, 200, 202, 213, 216, 228, 252, 254–55; and the Women's Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting Minutes, fols. 47, 89.

36. Third Haven Monthly Meeting Minutes, fols. 128, 130–228, 244.

37. Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting Minutes, fol. 53; Third Haven Monthly Meeting Minutes, fols. 156, 244; Women's Yearly and Half-Yearly Meeting Minutes, fols. 75, 83, 89, 105, 107 (quotation at 83).

38. The argument here summarizes evidence I have presented more fully elsewhere; see Michael J. Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," pp. 363–70. Also see Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 1:133, 140–41, 218–19, 301, 339.

39. From "Abstract of the Journal of Edmund Peekover's Travels in North America and Barbadoes," *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 1 (1903–1904): 95–109 (quotation on p. 107). I am grateful to Kenneth Carroll for drawing my attention to this document.

40. This material is also a summary of material presented in Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," pp. 373–78.

41. Quotation taken from Maryland Colonial Wills (hereafter, Wills), Maryland State Archives, 12 (2):108. A number of other wills or estates contain similar

material. See the wills of John Londey (Wills, 2:259), Elizabeth Digges (Charles County Wills, AB3:34), Jane Green (Wills, 4:381), and sundry others: Wills, 15:297, 6:113, 14:715, 11:332, 8:279; St. Mary's County Wills, 1:123, 172–173, 7:337–38; and Talbot County Wills, box 21, folder 14. The will of Henrietta Maria Lloyd includes material concerning a Catholic chapel on the Wye River in Talbot County (Wills, 7:252). See also the estate inventories for James Carroll (Inventories, 15:496), Anthony Neale (Inventories, 9:327), and Richard Harsham (Inventories and Accounts, 25 (A):299).

42. Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise," pp. 380–81. An example of the assumption of wide patterns of Anglican-Catholic intermarriage may be found in Gerald P. Fogarty, "The Origins of the Mission, 1634–1773," in Gerald P. Fogarty, Joseph Durkin, and R. Emmett Curran, eds., *The Maryland Jesuits, 1634–1833* (Baltimore: Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergymen, 1976). The authorization for selective consanguinity dispensations is found in a letter of Jesuit Provincial Superior Thomas Lawson to Father George Thorrold (1725), in the Maryland Province Jesuit Archives, Georgetown University, 502.6, 2.

43. Regarding the dispensation from holyday obligations, see the Maryland Province Jesuit Archives, 2T0. However, see also the letter from Provincial Lawson, 502.6, 5.

44. Wills, 19:791.

45. On the career of Thomas Brooke, see Papenfuse, et. al., eds., *Dictionary*, 1:172–73.

46. See the wills of Edward Digges (d. 1714; Prince George's County Wills, liber 13, fol. 673), and Anthony Neale (d. 1723; Wills, 18:164). Charles Carroll (1691–1755) was likewise a Catholic convert who held an assembly seat in the eighteenth century but, as an Irish immigrant who in all likelihood had converted before immigrating around 1715, does not represent a conversion from a traditionally Catholic Maryland family (see Papenfuse, et. al., eds., *Dictionary*, 1:193–94).

47. Text in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 4:4–8.

48. Ibid., 4:4, 6.

49. Ibid., 4:5.

50. Ibid., 4:6.

51. Ibid., 4:7.

52. The text of the pamphlet, "Liberty and Property," was published by John Gilmeary Shea in *The United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, 3 (1889–1890): 237–63. Although unsigned, it was almost certainly the work of the Jesuit priest Peter Attwood. Attwood's authorship is discussed in Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., "Property and Religious Liberty," note 61. While Attwood's pamphlet was not published, Gov. John Hart seems to have known of it. In an address to both houses of the Assembly on 5 April 1720, Hart delivered an extended harangue against the Catholics in the colony by way of presenting a history of his dispute with Charles Carroll and others, and in this speech he mentioned,

> The only Reply made on their [the Catholics'] part was by a Gentleman who informed me some of the Principal of the Roman Catholics had showed him

a paper that was Intended to be presented to me by them in which he said they seemed to acknowledge they had not been persecuted but at the same time it contained something which looked like a claim of Right (*Md. Archives*, 33:483).

Baltimore-Bahamian Trade before the Civil War: Samuel R. Keene, the *James Power*, *Emily Ann Thompson*, and *Milton*

PETER T. DALLEO

By the 1840s Baltimore-owned vessels had established lively trading links with the Caribbean, including the Bahamas. Much of this shipping used the British colony as a way station going to or from its primary ports of call in South America.[1] Occasional accidents or special missions brought Baltimore skippers into Bahamian ports. In 1840 the brig *Ann Wayne* out of Baltimore and on its way to Savannah, reached Nassau: "The Capt notwithstanding extreme distress, navigated the vessel into Port after making Abaco, supported by his men at the wheel." One year later the *Henry Jenkins* on the leg from Appalachicola to Charleston, South Carolina, leaked so badly that it put into the Biminis, where the master hoped to find wood to make temporary rudders before sailing for Nassau. In 1846 a Maryland vessel ferried a circus to Nassau before clearing port for Jamaica.[2]

But most Baltimoreans visited the Bahamas to trade, as examination of consular records from Nassau makes clear. The *Lady Warrington*, a schooner of 97 tons, traded annually in the British colony until wrecked in 1846. Thomas Dukehart, an accomplished Caribbean trader, sailed a series of vessels to Nassau: the *O'Kelly* in 1840, the *Alicia* in 1842, the *F. A. Tupper* in 1843, and the *Andrew Grey* in 1844–45. The schooners mastered by Samuel R. Keene stand out because of the regularity and frequency of their visits to the Bahamas: the *James Power* (99 tons), the *Emily Ann Thompson* (143 tons), and the *Milton* (99 tons). Keene worked exclusively with the Baltimore firm of F. T. Montell, whose founder had come from Nassau in 1808.[3]

Keene's crews, like others from Baltimore who journeyed directly to Nassau or to Gulf ports, encountered many beautiful sights. After departing Baltimore harbor and the Chesapeake Bay, ships passed Cape Henry, continuing to sail along the eastern coast until they entered the Straits of Florida. Crews soon saw the northern portion of the Bahamas, the Berry Islands, or Stirrup's Cay. They might see what one sojourner described: "This morning the Ocean blue was changed to green as we were passing the Bahama Bank and we could see the black rocks and

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beds of sponge as we glided over them." From the Berrys ships continued toward Abaco, sometimes picking up fresh food from local smacks: "the inhabitants frequently barter fish, turtle, corn, vegetables, shells &c, for sale. This is done openly." Thomas Rodney of Delaware entered in his journal a pleasant description of Hole-in-the-Wall, Abaco:

> to the no. of this point the land lies in a firm white beach extending about four miles and termanating to the South in a dark green bluff apparently covered with cedar. The land then makes in a long low ridge . . . termanating in the sea.

From Abaco it was a short haul to New Providence. The Hog Island lighthouse signalled the presence of the Bahamian capital. Fort Charlotte, another familiar landmark, overlooked Nassau: "an excellent port, of easy access to any vessel drawing less than eighteen feet, good pilots and safe anchorage."[4]

Baltimoreans visiting Nassau during the 1840s found a town in transition. Although unmolested by destructive hurricanes during this decade, growth remained slow. The recent emancipation of slaves resulted in the departure of Loyalists from the Bahamas and many blacks from Nassau. The town's share of the colony's population declined from 42 to 32 percent.[5]

Mariners welcomed in Nassau varied the use of their free time. In addition to an open market at the port, Nassau boasted four small boarding houses. The owner of the Bahama Hotel advertised baths, newspapers, and "its proximity to the Vendue House, the principal mart, its central situation, and its being in the main or front street as being particularly convenient to Merchants and Masters of Vessels." Crews probably had limited contact with Nassau's seven thousand inhabitants. They could attend churches (Anglican, Baptist, Methodist) or carouse in a variety of town taverns. No bank existed in Nassau, but Americans could buy or sell goods with British sterling, Bahamian pounds, or even Mexican or Spanish currency. Some merely strolled beaches and collected shells.

Masters such as Keene collected political and economic information that affected Baltimore's commercial community. Two newspapers supplied international news, local gossip, and advertisements announcing the latest arrivals of goods. American citizens referred problems to the American consul, who until the outbreak of the Civil War kept a side-street office off the port.[6]

Baltimoreans visiting Nassau observed and participated in various local events. Some of the most exciting moments revolved around the international slave trade. For example, in 1841 anyone in port would have witnessed the hubbub created by the African-American *Creole* mutineers. In 1842 one of Baltimore's own crews, from the *Margaret Hugg*, became embroiled in a controversy. Henry Jones, their steward and best diver, chose to escape from slavery in Nassau:

> The Cook and Steward very insolent this day refusing to provide dinner for the Cabin or crew. At 7 Capt Comer came on board to whom their misdemeanour was reported. On questioning the Steward about his con-

> duct he was answered with much insolence upon which the Capt inflicted a modest chastisement with a small piece of ratline reserved for the purpose. During the night the Steward deserted.[7]

Other issues, such as the Mexican-American War, which brought a Mexican officer to Nassau to look for privateers, must have worried Baltimore's traders. In 1848 the separation of the Turks and Caicos Islands from the Bahamas and the potential disruption of the salt trade definitely interested Baltimore's commercial community.[8]

Data extracted from consular dispatches permit the reconstruction of U.S.-Bahamian trading patterns and Baltimore's role in them. Most vessels involved in the trade were schooners, although some brigs, ships, and even sloops anchored in Nassau harbor. The greatest proportion of mariners were American. Most journeys originated in northeastern ports: Connecticut (New Haven), Maine (Bath, Portland, Thomaston), Maryland (Baltimore), Massachusetts (Boston, Gloucester, Wellfleet), New York (New York), and Pennsylvania (Philadelphia). Fewer came from southern ports: The Carolinas (Charleston, Wilmington), Florida (Jacksonville), and Louisiana (New Orleans). Most vessels were in transit to or from Gulf ports such as Galveston or New Orleans, other parts of the Caribbean (Barbados, Bonnaire, Cuba, Curacao, Jamaica, Trinidad, Virgin Islands), or South America.[9]

Baltimore traders dealt in goods that reflected the peculiarities of the Bahamian economy. A lack of natural resources, skilled labor, and capital severely hindered Bahamian economic growth. Although surrounded by the sea, Bahamians did not adopt methods for large-scale harvesting of its bounty. They did, however, develop small-scale operations "for collecting sponge . . . catching turtle—Fishing, shelling and droughing."[10] Farmers also struggled. Peasant smallholders employed traditional "pot-hole" agricultural techniques suited to local marginal-yield soils. Few became directly involved in shipping products to overseas markets. In 1844 the colonial secretary commented that of the 116 vessels engaged in foreign trade, only "some . . . go . . . beyond the limits of the colony."[11] Bursts of overseas demand spurred shifts of capital and labor to new primary products (pineapples, salt, sponges), but after temporary interest, production usually tapered off. Therefore Bahamians often funnelled services into occupations such as wrecking or migrant labor.

Because of limited primary product capabilities, a weak manufacturing base, and proximity to the United States, Bahamians increased the level of commercial interchange with their giant neighbor. In the mid-1850s the American consul wrote that "the colony is almost entirely dependent on the United States for the necessaries of life, there being very little comparative intercourse by sailing vessels with the Mother country."[12]

Statistical data gleaned from the Nassau post records support Michael Craton's assessment that in the 1840s Bahamian trade was "at a low ebb." Colonists in the northern part of the archipelago sold fruit and products salvaged from wrecked vessels. Southerners relied more heavily on salt exports for earnings. But overall,

United States-Bahamian shipping routes (Steve Dodge, *Abaco: The History of an Out Island and Its Cays* [Decatur, Ill.: White Sound Press, 1984]).

the out-islanders bought little more than foodstuffs from American traders. Because of its diversified import/export structure during the period under study, Nassau accounted for 76 percent of Bahamian exports to the United States and for

95 percent of total American imports. In that decade Nassau's total value of United States imports amounted to $986,265, whereas exports totalled $680,380.[13]

In the 1840s enterprising Baltimoreans took advantage of this trade imbalance. Although Baltimore's vessels tended to follow the general trade pattern described above, a study of those mastered by Samuel R. Keene reveals a market share unique to other Baltimore traders. If consular reports are accurate, the Keene vessels averaged an annual share of 25 percent of Nassau's United States trade. No other port or master contributed to it so extensively.[14]

Perhaps Keene succeeded because he mastered the only set of vessels to "run regularly between Nassau and Baltimore." Between 1840 and mid-1845, using a crew of five or six men on the *James Power*, Keene successfully completed thirty-two round trips. Although he traded primarily in Nassau, he occasionally travelled to out-islands such as Eleuthera or Ragged Island to procure goods. Sometimes he carried passengers from Baltimore to Nassau, as the following newspaper advertisement attests:

> PASSAGE FOR NASSAU—the sch[oone]r JAMES POWER will sail on the 23d inst for the above port. A few passengers can be accomodated on the application to F. T. Montell 79 Smith's Wharf[15]

Keene also performed services for the United States consulate. For a fee, he sometimes transported destitute American seamen home from Nassau. Keene probably served as the officially sanctioned mail carrier for the consulate. At least once he conveyed Consul Timothy Darling to Baltimore; he also delivered a United States flag to the consul's office. In 1845, because of mishaps that culminated in a wreck, Keene shifted his command briefly to a larger vessel, the *Orbit*, (171 tons), before taking control of the *Emily Ann Thompson*.[16]

The *Emily Ann Thompson* served as an active successor to the *Power*. A larger vessel, it carried a crew of six. Between November 1845 and October 1848 it completed twenty voyages between Baltimore and the Bahamas. Like its predecessor, the *Thompson* sometimes patronized out-islands, generally conducted its business in Nassau, and performed duties for the American consul's office. In 1846 Keene accepted the shipwrecked crew of the *Boston* as passengers and the following year carried U.S. troops and stores from the wrecked vessel *Empire* to Charleston. After only two and one-half years in the Bahamas trade, however, the *Thompson* wrecked off Abaco on Christmas night 1848.

Keene next captained another Baltimore vessel, the *Milton*, comparable in size to the *James Power*. In 1849 this schooner made six voyages to Nassau. Keene and the *Milton* continued in the Bahamas trade until 1851, when both his name and that of the vessel disappear from the consular records.[17]

On each of its thirty-two successful voyages the *Power* carried a number of major products to Nassau, mostly flour. As Rutter explains when discussing Baltimore's trade prior to the Civil War, "the flour destined for Brazil and the West Indies formed by far the largest and most uniform element in Baltimore's exports."[18] In order of descending importance, the remaining cargo consisted of livestock, corn,

butter, meal, rice, and lard; the most common non-foodstuff was candles. The *Emily Ann Thompson* shipped similar products southward, but precise information about her cargoes is difficult to obtain from government reports. In the mid-1840s consuls in Nassau began resorting to vague descriptions such as "Assorted cargo" or "Provisions" to describe trade goods. Data from Baltimore's customs house, however, affirm that Keene continued to carry cargoes typical of his earlier voyages.

Captain Keene's purchases in Nassau do not mirror the usual Baltimore preference for avoiding mixed cargoes. Because the Bahamas lacked a major industrial or agricultural export (except salt), Keene probably had little choice. He therefore acquired a mix of locally-produced articles such as sponges, wood (brazilletto, lignum vitae, mahogany, mastic), honey, fruit (oranges and pineapples), cotton, and salt. He also procured salvaged goods that included coffee, cotton, sugar, tobacco, and ships' fittings (anchors, cable chains, rigging, copper).[19]

Bahamians counted salvaged goods among their most important exports. They had long regarded scavenging as an acceptable occupation. St. Augustine's customs inspector claimed in 1823 that 120 sailing vessels from the Bahama Islands found their "Sole employment" in "Wrecking & Transporting over to Providence Goods of this description." By the mid-nineteenth century "wrecking" had emerged as a major Bahamian industry.[20]

Although exact figures for wrecking are lacking, those available show growth. Between 1848 and 1856 the number of "wrecking" vessels increases from 50 to 300 and that of wreckers from 400 to 2,679 men. Attempts to tighten salvaging laws in the late 1840s failed because of government laxity in enforcing them. By the 1860s most of the 207 Bahamian vessels over fifteen tons engaged in wrecking as did "a great number of smaller vessels." According to Paul Albury, between 1845 and 1870 more than 300 ships wrecked in the Bahamas. Many of those were American-owned. Besides providing employment and excitement, wrecking also made vast quantities of salvaged goods accessible. Bahamians used some locally and re-exported others.[21]

Multiple factors contributed to the high incidence of wrecks in the Bahamas. Most important were the natural physical conditions that made sailing exceptionally hazardous. Although the area was well-charted, shallow waters, treacherous reefs, innumerable rocks, sand banks, and unpredictable currents combined to befuddle many an alert captain and crew. Poor weather and night conditions often complicated navigating. Someone like Keene obviously gained experience from each trip to the region.

Because of the high level of commercial activity connected to the coastal and Latin American trade, accidents invariably occurred. Many American vessels entered the Bahamas only because they were in difficulty and seeking Nassau as a haven. Keene's vessels were included in the approximately two thousand vessels that passed the Abaco lighthouse in 1846.

The absence of navigational aids, such as lighthouses and buoys, worsened the situation. In 1824 the Bahamian rejected a United States government offer to buy land and erect a lighthouse. Even when the colonial government did build a light

UNITED STATES-BAHAMIAN TRADE (NASSAU) 1840–1849

		Imports (U.S. dollars)		
Year	Vessels	Total	*James Power*	Percent
1840	56	93,222	6,500	6.9
1841	55	60,904	19,257	31.6
1842	43	75,756	25,165	33.2
1843	42	55,490	23,966	43.2
1844	67	130,047	27,091	20.8
1845	58	132,600	20,001	15.1
1846	59	125,360	34,166	27.3
1847	41	83,939	36,294	43.2
1848	51	89,986	23,932	26.7
1849	49	138,961	21,895	15.8

station at Abaco, it could not be seen from the north side of the island. By the 1840s Baltimoreans sailing toward Nassau could rely on only four lighthouses—one each at the mouth of Nassau harbor on Hog Island, at Hole-in-the-Wall, Abaco, at Gun Cay in the Berrys, and, if coming from Cuba, at Cay Sal. In the succeeding decade the colonial engineer appointed to observe and report on public works in the out-islands frequently noted the damage to trade caused by the absence of lighthouses. Americans involved in trade continuously complained about the loss of cargo, vessels, and lives.[22]

Many Americans and Baltimoreans undoubtedly owed their lives to the wreckers. Consular despatches are dotted with descriptions such as "Put in to this port in distress," "Leaking," and "Dismasted." Many ships survived once "repaired" or "refitted." Many did not. Comments such as "Abandoned by Master" or "Condemned and Sold" appear often in the consular records. Wrecked mariners suffered great deprivations and hardships. Some arrived in Nassau with nothing but the clothes wreckers supplied them. Still others spent long days isolated and exposed on distant cays and islands until discovered by Bahamians.[23]

A few examples of Baltimore vessels that wrecked in the Bahamas illustrate the dangerous conditions. In 1842 the *Margaret Hugg* on the end leg of a trading mission from Baltimore to Rio de Janeiro struck the Ginger Bread ground. Bahamians from the *Harriet* towed her to Nassau. Faced with shipping four feet of water, the crew threw overboard much of her cargo of jerked beef. Although saved by wreckers, the *Hugg* had to abandon its voyage.[24] Just off Rum Cay, wreckers also rescued men from the *James Fisher*:

> every exertion was made by the Captain and crew upon the first discovery of the fire, to extinguish it, but being unable to effect this, and finding it to proceed from the hold of the vessel, and no doubt caused by heating and

UNITED STATES–BAHAMIAN TRADE 1840–1849 (CONT'D)

	Exports (U.S. dollars)		
Year	Total	*James Power*	Percent
1840	50,809	7,315	14.4
1841	75,314	17,240	22.9
1842	37,910	23,394	61.7
1843	51,636	25,234	48.9
1844	74,932	14,460	19.3
1845	122,795	15,903	13.0
1846	31,411	8,909	28.4
1847	62,083	18,233	29.4
1848	86,825	16,859	19.4
1849	88,665	16,935	19.1

Source: This table should be treated as a guideline for what occurred rather than an exact accounting of trade. In some cases (1840, 1841, 1842), especially for the outports, data was incomplete or illegible. Consul Darling warned of American masters who disobeyed regulations when visiting the out-islands. Consul Bacon complained of the lack of consular agents in the outports, which caused much trade to go unrecorded (Returns of Vessels, 1840–1849, reels 5–7, USCR, DNA). Officials in Florida reported that Bahamian and American vessels smuggled goods into that area (T. Darling to J. Calhoun, 6 February 1845, ibid.; J. Bacon to W. Marcy, 20 September 1855 Despatch Book 1853–1858, NP PRN, DNA; and C. Emery to Secretary of the Treasury, 14 December 1843, in *Florida Territorial Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 26:808–10.

> igniting of old rope and junk, the hatch was raised for the purpose of throwing out the old rope &c. but on opening, the flame burst out and the crew had merely time to escape to the boat.

According to those who looked for the vessel the next day, "nothing could be found, excepting a few floating coals and pieces of the wreck nearly consumed."[25] Precarious conditions forced others to act more quickly. The *Lady Warrington*, on a trip from Baltimore to Port Isabel, Texas, went aground near Abaco:

> and to save the lives of the crew, [the captain] run her on shore with the water up to her cabin floor, she having filled so fast that nothing scarcely could be saved out of the cabin, the charts, log books and clothes were lost.[26]

In 1843 Keene lost James Cooper, a black seaman from Richmond, Virginia, who was swept overboard in a storm. Keene apparently returned to Baltimore on the *F. A. Tupper* that April.[27]

Eighteen forty-five was a disastrous year for the *James Power*. During its January trip the vessel struggled through heavy seas on its way south. So "tempestuous" was the weather that it injured a number of oxen on deck—the crew eventually

threw them off the schooner. On its second trip that year, during late February and early March, heavy seas once again resulted in the death of livestock, but the *Power* reached Nassau. On the third journey, after having disposed of its goods in Nassau and begun the trip home with a cargo of salt, Keene encountered serious difficulty. Only a few hours out of the capital, the *Power* struck a reef about one mile off Fortune Beach, Grand Bahama. Approximately one and one-half hours later, the vessel began to bilge. Crew members luckily had time to go ashore and arrange help. Just after Keene and the steward abandoned the schooner, "the mainmast went by the board and the foremast soon after, and the whole vessel going to pieces very fast." Local wreckers brought the crew ashore and ferried them to Nassau where they arrived on 17 May. Keene blamed the accident on "a very strong current setting to the N.N. West, and . . . the cloudy weather of night which prevented them from seeing land in time to avert danger."[28]

The *Power*'s successor, the *Emily Ann Thompson*, met a similar fate. In February 1848, on a trip to Nassau, the schooner began to leak. She managed to reach Nassau, off-load her cargo, and return to Baltimore. She made three uneventful voyages before her last trip in December that year. Sailing in heavy seas, the *Thompson* foundered off Abaco. On Christmas night "she bilged soon after striking, with so heavy a sea on that the crew and passengers lost their clothing, log book &c. and escaped with difficulty." Wreckers aided Keene and brought the crew to Nassau.[29] Within three years Keene was apparently out of the Caribbean trade.

NOTES

1. Frank Rutter, *The South American Trade of Baltimore*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 15 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1897). Gilbert Neal, "Baltimore's Flour Trade to the Caribbean, 1750–1815" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1975), admirably details Baltimore's flour trade in the Caribbean but does not delve deeply into contacts with individual islands such as the Bahamas. See also Emory R. Johnson, C. W. van Metre, et al., *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* (2 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1915), 1:327, 340–45. I would like to acknowledge the valuable assistance offered me by the late Dr. Ferdinand Chatard at the outset of this project.

2. Semi-Annual Statistical Returns of Vessels, 1846, United States Consular Reports, RG 84 (hereafter Returns of Vessels, USCR, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter DNA). I have employed the microfilmed records series T475, reels 5–8. Protest of the Henry Jenkins, 14 January 1942, in Marine Notes of Protest 1844–1848, Post Records, Nassau, Bahamas, RG 84 (hereafter NP PRN), DNA. See also entries in Merchants' Exchange Reading Room Record Books, 30 September 1840, Ms. 610, MdHS, and Ethan Allan Logbook, Ms. 836, MdHS.

3. Protest of the Schooner Lady Warrington, 11 July 1846, NP PRN, DNA; Returns of Vessels, 1840–49, USCR, DNA. Francis Montague Montell came to Baltimore in 1808 and died at the age of sixty-two in February 1834. Matilda Montell, his daughter, married Henry Blair in 1835. F. T. Montell, probably the

founder's son, married Sarah Ann Barton in 1834 (Dielman-Hayward File, MdHS). Other Baltimore vessels connected to Montell's business in the Bahamas were the *Colombia* in 1840, the *Mary Ann* in 1842, and the *Justina* in 1844 (Merchants' Exchange Reading Room Record Books 1840–1844, Mss. 610 and 610B, MdHS).

4. Evans Brinton, Journal of a Young Mechanic in Search of Employment, Wealth, Fame, Happiness (1855), and Thomas M. Rodney, Notes on Board the Scho. Good Friends Walter Midlin Master from Philadelphia to Havana 1825, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington (hereafter HSD). See also Log of the Bark Marietta, 1848, ms. 1147, MdHS, *Nassau Guardian*, 29 June 1853, and Albert Fitz to D. Webster, 21 July 1842, Reports of Special Agents, United States Department of State, Microfilm Series 37, reel 6, DNA.

5. In 1841, the total population of the Bahamas numbered 23,401; by 1851 it had risen to 27,519. See Cyrus Sharer, "The Population Growth of the Bahama Islands" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1960).

6. Nassau *The Observer*, 30 March 1842, and Michael Craton, *A History of the Bahamas* (3rd ed.; Waterloo, Canada: San Salvador Press, 1986), p. 219. The United States opened its consular office in Nassau in September 1821. For information about specific mid-century consuls, see Edward Tousley, "The United States Consular Service in the Bahamas during the American Civil War" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University, 1968), and Applications and Recommendations for Appointments Consular Officers, RG 59, reel 13, DNA.

7. Logbook of the Margaret Hugg, Ms. 1521.1, Hugg Papers, MdHS. For information about the *Creole* mutineers see Governor Cockburn to Senior Naval Officer, Jamaica, 16 November 1841, GOV 4, Nassau Public Records Office, Nassau, Bahamas (hereafter NPRO); J. Bacon to D. Webster, 30 November 1841 and T. Darling to D. Webster, 30 August 1842, Returns of Vessels, USCR, reels 5–6, DNA.

8. Craton, *History*, pp. 226–27. Baltimore vessels seeking salt frequented the Turks and Caicos Islands, which in 1848 became part of Jamaica (Merchants' Exchange Reading Room Books, 1840–1848, Ms. 610, MdHS, and J. Bacon to J. Buchanan, 2 March and 20 October 1847, Returns of Vessels, USCR, reel 7, DNA.

9. Returns of Vessels, 1840–1849, USCR, reels 5–7, DNA.

10. C. R. Nesbitt to Duke of Newcastle, 2 June 1861, GOV 4, NPRO.

11. Ibid. For more about farming see Peter T. Dalleo, "Pirates and Plunderers: Rethinking Bahamian History," *Africana Journal*, 13 (1981): 300–303.

12. J. Bacon to W. Marcy, 26 May 1854, Despatch Book 1853–1858, PRN, DNA and Returns of Vessels, 1840–1849, USCR, reels 5–7, DNA.

13. Craton, *History*, pp. 222–27, and Returns of Vessels, 1840–1849, USCR, reels 5–7, DNA.

14. Returns of Vessels, 1840–1849, USCR, reels 5–7, DNA.

15. Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 18 June 1842, and Returns of Vessels, 1840–1849, USCR, reels 5–7, DNA.

16. For Keene's links to the U. S. consulate, see *Nassau Guardian and Colonial Advertiser*, 20 January 1847; T. Darling to D. Webster, 27 October, 14 August, and December 1842 and 31 March 1843, J. Bacon to J. Buchanan, 2 December 1845

and 4 January 1849, USCR, reels 5–7, DNA; Merchants' Exchange Reading Room Record Book, 9 November and 11 August 1842, Ms. 610; and Baltimore Passenger Ship Lists, 1843–49, reels 4–6, Ms. 2332, MdHS. Among Keene's crew were Benjamin Taylor, who served as mate, and seamen Benjamin Douglas, David Ross, William Robinson, Samuel Firth, and John Pinkham (Protest of the James Power, 22 March 1845, NP PRN, DNA).

17. The *James Power* first visited the Bahamas in 1838 and made six voyages to Nassau before 1840. Master Keene's name is registered along with that of the *James Power* and the *Emily Ann Thompson* until E. J. Marshall replaced him on the 27 November to 6 December 1849 trip (Returns of Vessels, 1835–51, USCR, reels 5–7, DNA; Protest of the Emily A. Thompson, 26 February 1848, in NP PRN, DNA). After its career as a packet, the *James Power* possibly reemerged as a vessel engaged in local Bahamian trade. During the 1850s its name appears in Nassau's newspaper and court records as a transporter of passengers, salt, mahogany, and logwoods (*Nassau Guardian*, 30 April and 26 November 1853; Court of Vice Admiralty Minutes 1852–1858, 24 November 1854, 26 April and 21 December 1855, SC4/11–12, NPRO). Baltimore newspapers reported the death of a Samuel R. Keene in New York City in December 1871 (Baltimore *Sun*, 11 January 1872).

18. Rutter, *South American Trade*, pp. 17–20, 27. To Baltimore shippers, "provisions" included mess pork, mess beef, and prime beef (*American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 25 January 1840).

19. Merchants' Exchange Reading Room Record Book, 1840–1849, Ms. 610, MdHS and Returns of Vessels, 1840–1849, USCR, reels 5–7, DNA.

20. J. DuBose to J. Rodman, 21 May 1823, *Florida Territorial Papers* (26 vols.; Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Record Service, 1962), 22: 684–86.

21. James Wright, "The Wrecking System of the Bahamas," *Political Science Quarterly*, 30 (1915): 635–42. See also Steve Dodge, *Abaco: The History of an Out Island and Its Cays* (Decatur, Ill.: White Sound Press, 1984), pp. 64–69, and Paul Albury, *The Story of the Bahamas* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 135.

22. Sandra Riley, *Homeward Bound: A History of the Bahamas to 1850* (Miami, Fla.: Island Research, 1983), pp. 209 and 227. Useful primary sources include C. R. Nesbitt to Earl Grey, 11 December 1847, Colonial Office Correspondence 23/126, NPRO, and Peter Dalleo, *Thomas C. Harvey Official Reports of the Out Islands of the Bahamas, 1858* (Nassau: Department of Archives, 1984), pp. 8, 21, 25, and 32. For American views see *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, 11 (July–December 1844): 570, and J. Bacon to J. Buchanan, 25 July 1847, USCR, reel 6, DNA. See also T. M. Rodney to John M. Clayton, 8 November 1849, Letter Book 1849–1853, HSD.

23. Returns of Vessels, 1840–1849, USCR, reels 5–7, DNA.

24. Protest of the Margaret Hugg, 29 July 1842, NP PRN, DNA, Logbook of the Margaret Hugg, 1842, Ms. 1521.1, MdHS, and J. B. Comer to Capt. J. W. Hugg, 12 July 1842, Ms. 1521, Hugg Papers, MdHS. See also J. Bacon to J. Buchanan, 18 March 1847, USCR, reel 7, DNA.

25. Merchants' Exchange Reading Room Record Books, 9 November 1842, 22 February and 1 April 1843, Ms. 610, MdHS, and T. Darling to D. Webster, 27 October 1842, USCR, reel 5, DNA.

26. Protest of the Lady Warrington, 11 July 1846, NP PRN, DNA.

27. Protest of the James Power, 29 December 1843, and Protest of the Emily Ann Thompson, 26 February 1848, ibid. The *Tupper*, on its way back to Baltimore, wrecked on the Outer Banks near Cape Hatteras. The crew and passengers had to spend the night in the rigging (David Stick, *Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952], p. 46).

28. Merchants' Exchange Reading Room Record Books, 23 May 1845, Ms. 610A, MdHS; Protest of the James Power, 6 February, 22 March, and 22 May 1845, NP PRN, DNA.

29. Protest of the Emily Ann Thompson, 6 February 1848, NP PRN, DNA.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

A View of Chestertown from White House Farm: New Insights from Old Kent

ROBERT J. H. JANSON-LA PALME

Just in time for the year-long celebration of Kent County's 350th anniversary, there has emerged a remarkable eighteenth-century painted panel depicting the county seat of Chestertown and its surroundings. Now freshly and painstakingly restored, the picture was given to Washington College, Maryland's first institution of higher learning, by the Reverend Richard Hooker Wilmer of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, as a consequence of my years-long search for an accurate image of the college's original edifice.[1]

That building, which appears in splendid isolation atop a low hill at the far left in the painting, was, even though of brick, totally destroyed by fire in 1827. It is widely known to students of Maryland history through an engraving published in Philadelphia in 1784, two years after the founding of the college.[2] Little but the cornerstone had been laid by the time of publication, however, and because the building was not opened for use until 1788 and no other visual evidence has ever come to light, there has always been the possibility that the plan shown in the engraving was not in fact carried out.[3] Limited archaeological work carried out in 1981 and 1989 established the fact that the facade elevation was indeed 160 feet wide, exactly as projected by the college's founder, William Smith, D.D., former provost of the College of Philadelphia. This information appeared in a fund-raising booklet that Smith wrote to accompany the engraving.[4] Located within and over the uncovered stone foundations today are three more modest halls built successively in 1844 and 1854.

Moving along the horizon line of the 27-by-65 inch picture, we view rows of buildings clustered along High Street, the main thoroughfare of the town, leading eventually to the Chester River and to the opposite embankment in Queen Anne's County. In the foreground just left of center, astride an elegant horse, is a middle-aged male figure wearing a broad-brimmed hat, almost certainly a member

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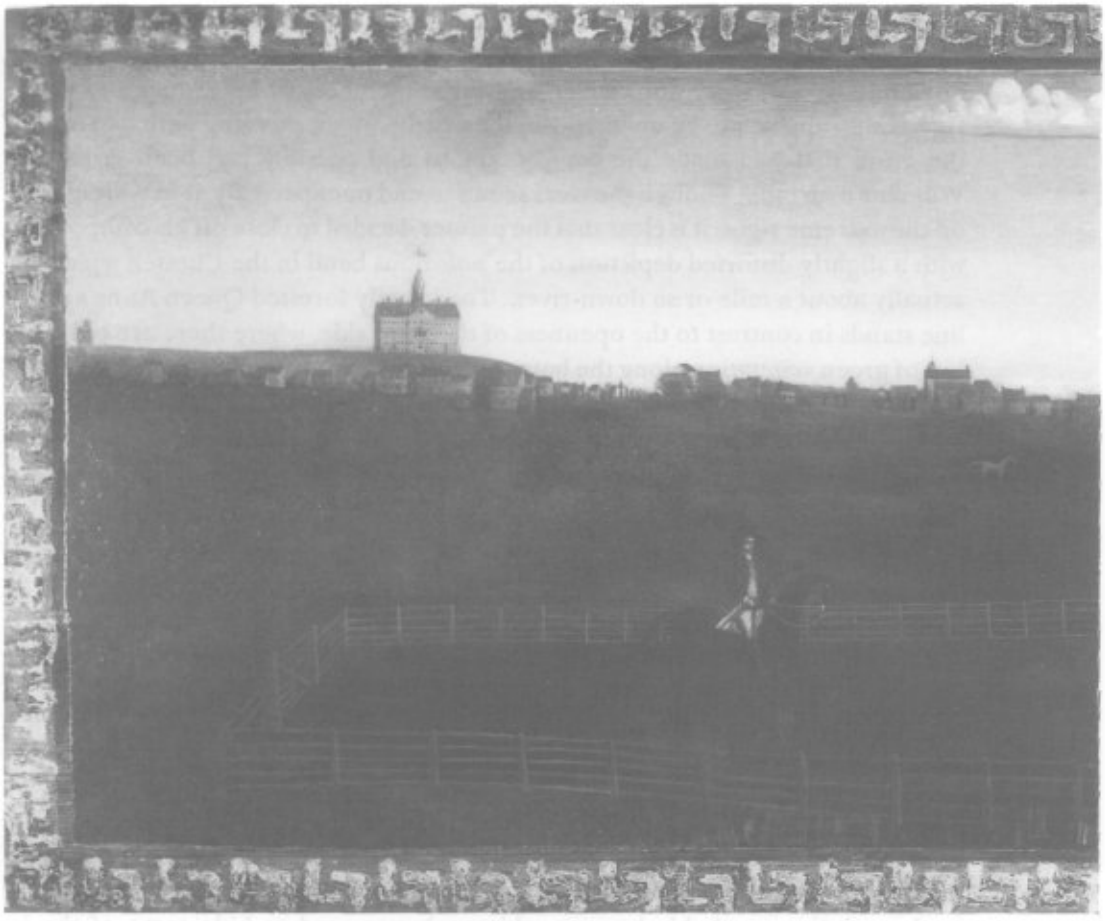
of the Wilmer family, upon whose well-situated lands both town and college were built.[5] At the right we see hay and wheat being harvested from his farm, his one-and-one-half story homestead, and three members of his family. A square-rigged ship appears to be underway in the nearby water, carrying perhaps some of the grain that had made the county famous and possibly had been ground at Wilmer's own mill. Though the river seems to end unexpectedly at its widest point on the extreme right, it is clear that the painter decided to close off his composition with a slightly distorted depiction of the notorious bend in the Chester, which lies actually about a mile or so down-river. The heavily forested Queen Anne's shore line stands in contrast to the openness of the Kent side, where there are only tiny bits of green vegetation along the bottom edge, at the extreme left, and at the right corner of the view. A few conventionalized trees can be found scattered among the buildings of the town. Much of the middle ground is articulated by a series of wooden fences, perhaps underscoring the fact that the Wilmer family also operated a saw mill beyond the town limits at the far left.[6]

Some of this charming and remarkably informative painting has been irrevocably lost, most importantly a section of middle ground at the extreme left side, extending inward several inches.[7] The nature of these losses (which include blistering) indicates that they were caused by heat or scorching. Given this damage and the proportioning of the image, we can infer that the painting once served as an overmantel decoration, most probably within a main room of the house portrayed in the foreground. Indeed the five bays of the taller section of the homestead still survive in the form of a rear wing of a much grander structure added at the river end during the mid-nineteenth century.[8] An examination of the remaining portion of the earlier Wilmer home reveals good Flemish bond work in the facade, with additions made in English bond. The walls appear creamy white in the painting, probably because whitewash was used to hide some of the irregularities in the masonry (see cover illustration).[9]

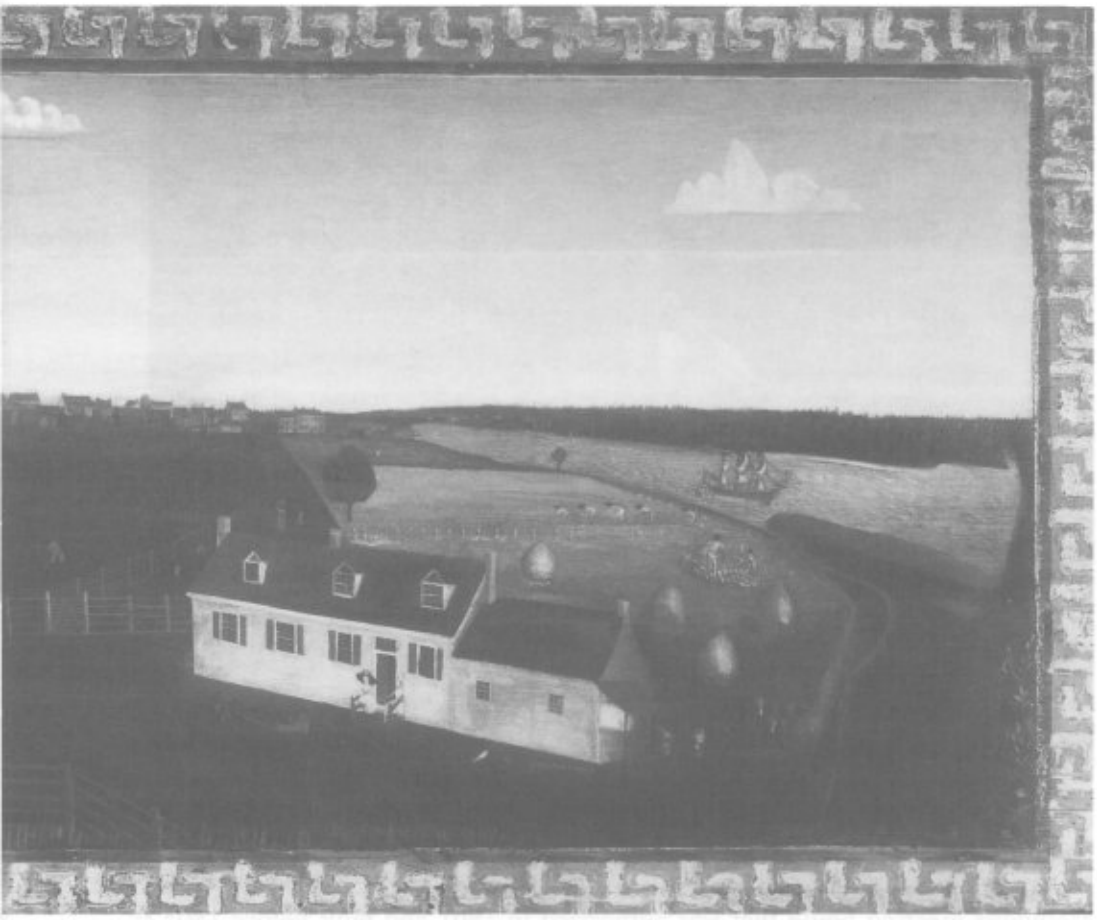
The whitewashing is the logical reason that this brick, Wilmer property became known as White House Farm, but during the eighteenth century locals also knew it as Stepney. Another significant portion of the estate came into the hands of this family of seventeenth-century settlers through marriage with the Tilghman family, major landowners of Queen Anne's before that county was formed at the northern end of Talbot. Simon Wilmer (died 1699) obtained a one-thousand-acre tract, called "Tilghman and Foxley Grove" through his marriage to Rebecca, daughter of Dr. Richard and Mary Foxley Tilghman.[10] By the time of the founding of Washington College, 250 acres of these original tracts were in the hands of a great-grandson, Simon (1749–1798).[11] Some of the acreage had been sold off for the laying out of Chestertown (then called New Town) beginning in 1730 and throughout the next decade. Another large portion was sold for the support and siting of the Kent County Free School. Three acres went for the building of the court house as early as 1696, and the remainder went to other family members.[12]

There is every reason to believe that the personage represented on horseback is Simon the proprietor during the closing quarter of the century. Here is a slightly



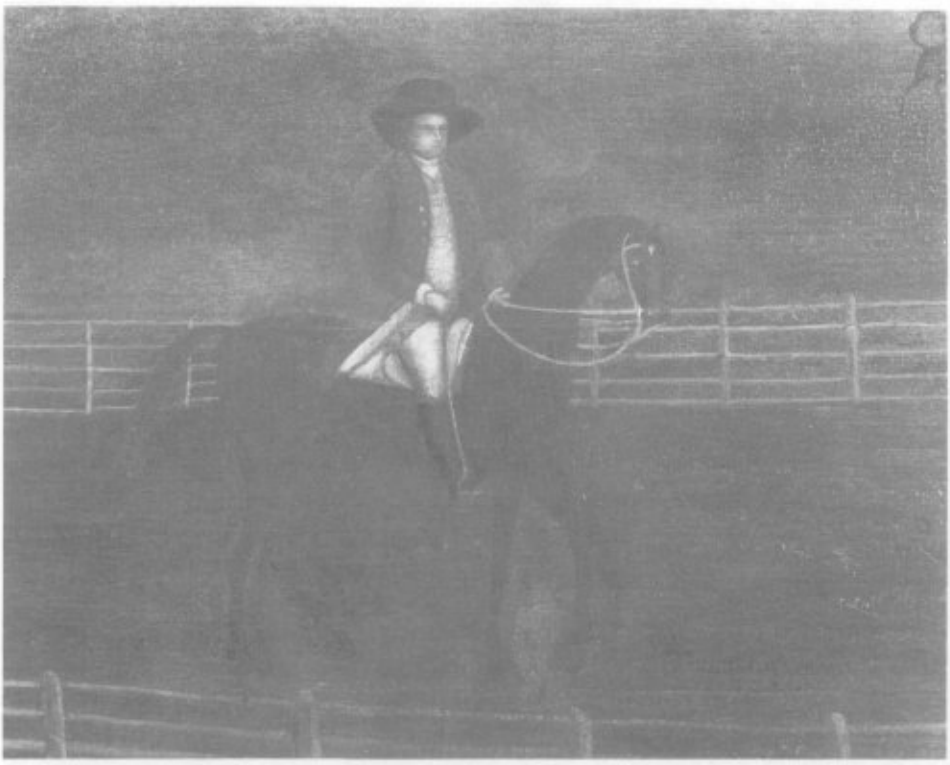
"A View of Chestertown from White House Farm," c. 1795. Artist unknown.

portly middle-aged figure in the garb of a gentleman-planter of the 1780s and 90s. A known horse-fancier, Wilmer owned a thoroughbred descended from the famous English mare Selima and advertised for stud his fine fifteen-hand stallion "Liberty" in the *Apollo: or Chestertown Spy* several times in 1793. Even to the untrained eye, though simply rendered, his mount is no plain work-horse.[13] Simon's 1783 state tax listing includes fifteen horses, and the inventory taken after his death in 1798 mentions a total of seventeen at a value of £247.[14] Simon is here in the early years of his second marriage (his first wife Ann Ringgold having died in 1789) to Mary Dunn, member of another, but less prominent, Kent family.[15] Their first male child, Peregrine, is faintly visible in front of the house, holding a streamer while being pulled in a small cart by a Negro servant (see cover illustration). Mrs. Wilmer sits on a bench by the door, wearing an attention-getting wide brimmed hat, similar to her husband's and in the company of a slender, fashionably coiffured lady who is no doubt related to the couple. Peregrine's birth on 19 June 1791 helps to establish the date for the picture.[16]



To pinpoint further the date of the piece, we must return to the background detail. The college building, when compared with the 1784 engraving, contains many of the same particulars, such as the Palladian window and the pedimented central pavilion topped with three urn ornaments.[17] But there are also significant departures, most notably six dormers in the roof and small basement entry enclosures at the ends of the building. While the cupola appears as a more massive and taller element in the painting, it should be noted that the artist has introduced taller proportions into several of his background buildings, probably to increase their conspicuousness. Thus, it seems that the painting must date some time—possibly a few years—after the new college opened. The college was observed in 1796 by the Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, who thought the building much too large and, like many American public buildings, apt to fall down before it was ever finished (indeed, a large part of the interior was not completed until well into the next century).[18] Indeed, William Smith was an ambitious man, encouraged the study of architecture, but was too confident of his ability to attract students.

The looming presence of the college points up the absence of an important Chestertown landmark still visible in the public space today, namely, a large



Simon Wilmer on Horseback. Note the shadows of alternate placement of the horse's legs, suggesting the artist's lack of experience, and the impressive fencing.

Methodist meeting house that was authorized in 1801 and built before 1803.[19] Were it present, it would resemble in size and shape the Chester parish building that is so prominent in the very center of the skyline between the college and the river. Instead, the vicinity is dominated by a large building in the farthest distance. That structure must be the Kent County School, from which Smith launched his grand plan for a combined school and "public seminary of universal learning." At the time he petitioned the assembly for a college charter, there were 140 students at the old county school.[20] It occupied a place on a rise of ground above the school spring and was a large brick building, according to the recollection of Peregrine Wroth, class of 1803, later professor at the college.[21] Another mid-century professor could remember the depression left in the earth where the school once stood.[22] In 1790, however, the structure was in use as the county poor house, leased from the college and according to the 1790 federal census sheltering 72 people.[23]

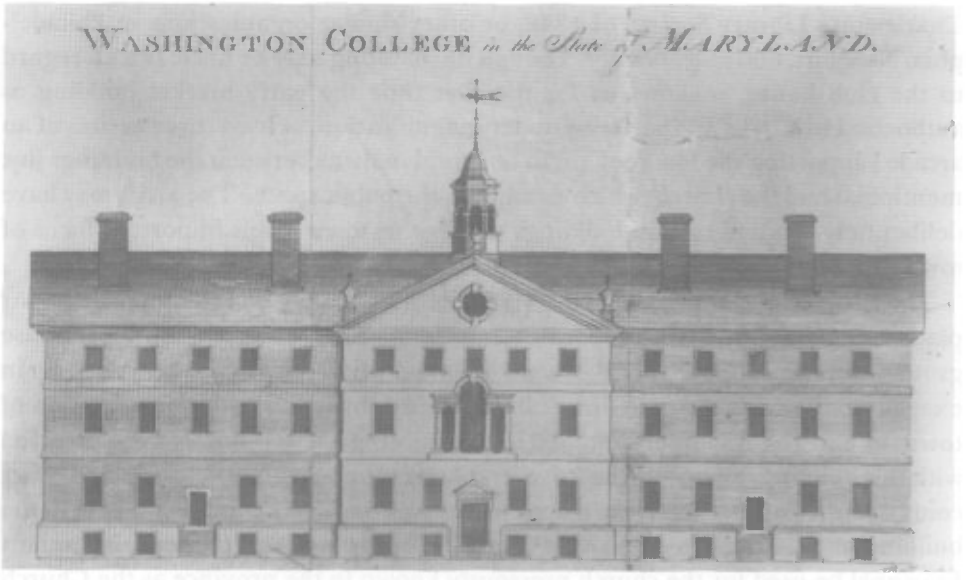
It is impossible to tell, owing to the condition of this area of the painting, whether the artist included the Club House. This building was placed on a full lot and seems to have served many functions, social and literary. Reportedly, it was useful while the college was in process of moving from the county school to its new quarters.[24] While the Jockey Club met there, it may have started out with such ambitions as

Charleston's Library Society of 1748, or other similar organizations in Philadelphia, Newport, and elsewhere.[25] Though the painting may be unclear with regard to the club house, it shows us for the first time the early market building as authorized in 1784.[26] When seen under magnification, at least three arches of an arcade supporting the low roof are to be found midway between the buildings just mentioned and the church, which dominates the public space. The artist may have deliberately omitted certain buildings to allow us to view this important focus of town life.

The Provincial Council created Chester Parish in 1766, and the following year plans to build a sixty-by-forty foot structure facing High Street on the court house ground were underway.[27] This central building, whose height the artist has again exaggerated, stands today in drastically modified form at a critical intersection of town, its early belfry largely abraded in the painting. The Wilmers were involved with this building, especially the Reverend James Jones Wilmer, a cousin and exact contemporary of the Simon portrayed in our painting. At a convention held in the building in 1780 the Reverend Mr. Wilmer first proposed that the term Protestant Episcopal be used for the church previously known in the province as the Church of England.[28] The roof and one end of the church are seen, and still less is discernible of the old court house itself. Only the humped shape of the roof of the quaint structure, built after a fire in the 1720s, appears adjacent to the taller church.[29]

From this point to the river there is a melange of taverns, commercial establishments, and large scale residences. Because of their brick construction, many still stand today. The most easily recognizable is the old Ringgold house, home of Thomas Ringgold (1715–1772), in the eighteenth century one of the county's most successful men. The dividing line of the field directly above Simon Wilmer's central chimney takes the viewer's eye directly to the lengthy south flank of Ringgold's waterfront establishment. After purchasing a smaller house on the site in 1767, the energetic merchant-planter added a rear wing that appears today almost exactly as in the painting.[30] There is no exaggeration here; the artist creates a direct visual linkage with the family of Simon's first wife (moreover, Ringgold's mother was a Wilmer).[31] Visible, as one gets closer to the water, are a large stable and waterfront warehouses. At this point there are no signs of the "bridge to be built" mentioned in the acts of the assembly for 1804 and 1807, further confirming the 1790s as the likely period for the painting.[32] Service to the Queen Anne's shore was provided by ferry, and it is clear from the many softly lit buildings there that residents of that county saw the advantage of being close to Kent's port of entry.

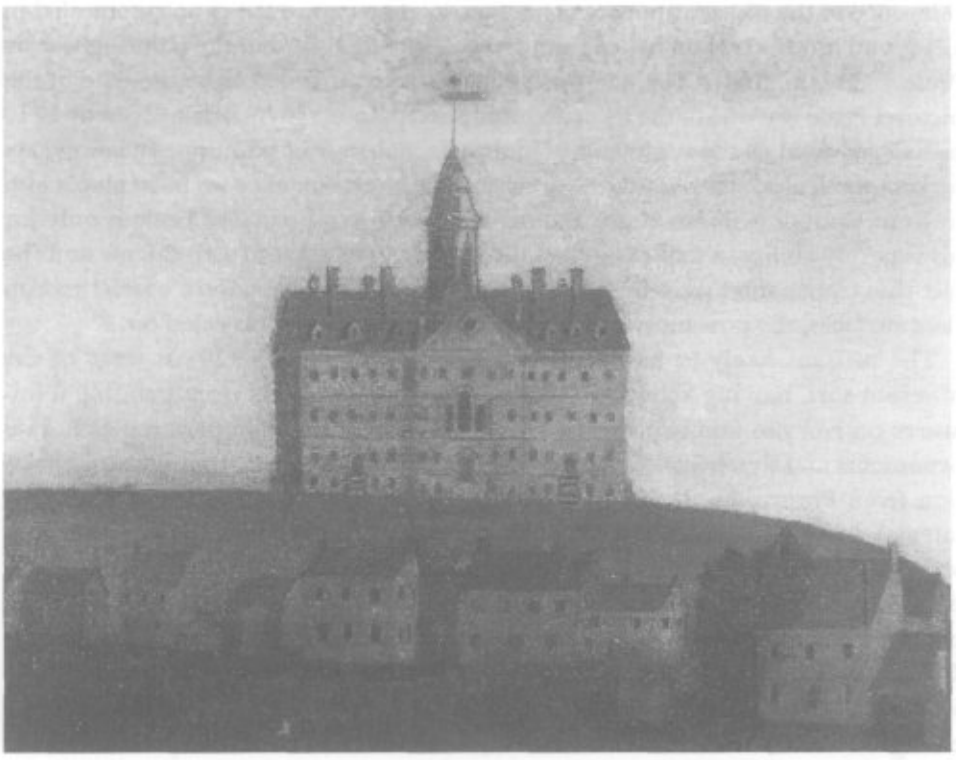
Beyond noting that at the very edge of Wilmer's property (and directly above the intersection of the fences to the left of his house) there is a plain building, which no doubt is the town's distillery operated by tavern keeper Edward Worrell, it behooves us to return to the left section of the picture.[33] Here we find, almost intruding into Wilmer's pasture, a two-story house with side addition belonging to one of the stalwart citizens of the town, Dr. James Anderson. Anderson was a



Frontispiece to William Smith's pamphlet, published in Philadelphia, 1784.

supporter of the college and of many civic endeavors, and he was a witness to Simon Wilmer's will on 7 July 1794.[34] His house stands today at what was the usual entrance to the Wilmer property at the foot of Mill Street. Deeds tell us that in this same general area beneath the college hill, in houses large and small, many of the important faculty lived. The Reverend Colin Ferguson dwelled on the near side of High Street, not far from Anderson, and his predecessor as principal, the Reverend William Smith, until his return to Philadelphia, owned a property diagonally across the street. The Reverend Samuel Armor, professor of logic and moral philosophy, lived somewhat farther out High Street after first having leased several college lots.[35] In a small house on Calvert Street, still nearer the college and probably shown in the painting, lived the Callister sisters, Sarah and Elizabeth. Apparently Elizabeth had learned something about drawing and painting from her late husband St. George Peale, who in turn had instruction from his famous brother Charles Willson Peale (two sons of the master of the Kent County School until his death in 1750). In the years 1783–84 the sisters were the first to teach drawing and painting at the college. Mrs. Peale died in 1786, and Miss Callister soon after left town.[36]

Our tour of the architectural background of the painting points up how the painter generally accentuated the persons, associations and institutions that held the most meaning for Simon Wilmer. The artist saw to it, above all, that the Wilmer farm house was so placed in the composition that its many parallel lines carry the eye across the composition, past the oversized Simon, to the impressive new college building in the distance. In doing so the painter violated the actual spatial relationships between house and river and house and High Street.[37] But Simon



The college building, according to an early report, was fifty-three feet high. The painter exaggerated height at the expense of breadth and doubtless enlarged the cupola to attract attention to the structure.

was a fair contributor to the college, and at least one of his sons (the illustrious William Holland Wilmer, later rector of Chester Parish and president of the College of William and Mary) earned a degree there in 1802.[38] It is also clear—with the workers toiling successfully in the fields, horses running freely about, and elements of happy domesticity clustered around the doorway of his house—that Simon wanted the pleasures and successes of his life celebrated in this compound composition. He may also have been thinking of the brevity of life in July of 1794, when he wrote his will. Young Peregrine, playing in the yard, was three years old by that date. The continuation of life is at the same time delightfully expressed in front of the kitchen wing, where a gander faces a goose and her ten tiny goslings, all in a row (see cover). They echo in some respects the human relationships expressed within the same yard. These images of family and domesticity, abundance and plenty, productivity and service to the community all typify the spirit of the Federal period. And they recall in good measure the spirit of one of Chestertown's best-known young emigrants, Charles Willson Peale.

Could this famous artist have had anything to do with this picture? Several family descendants have been led to think that this was the case. The only printed

reference to the picture appears in an anecdotal history of the county compiled in 1916, and it reflects local belief among those who knew it that the painting was by Peale.[39] By the mid-1790s, the time we have now reckoned to be the date of the picture, Peale was one of the most accomplished painters in America. Even by 1770 he had acquired all the rudiments of high style, naturalistic painting. In later years he kept meticulous diaries and records, and the latest evidence we have places him in Kent County in 1789–90.[40] Wilmer would have appreciated Peale if only for his superior ability in depicting horseflesh. But given that artist's talents and the fact that overmantel paintings were normally done *in situ*, not on easels, and on *wood* surfaces, the possibility of Charles Willson Peale must be ruled out.[41]

The artisans likely to have done this sort of work in the 1790s were of the itinerant sort, moving about performing all manner of tasks from painting miniatures on ivory to family portraits, teaching drawing, or even painting elaborate ornaments and sign boards. In post-revolutionary America an immigrant population from France, England and Germany (in addition to some lesser American talents) eagerly sought these jobs in whatever locale. There were also largely self-taught amateurs who enjoyed ornamenting their own properties. In fact such may have been the case with another overmantel, *Shipyard at Gray's Inn Creek*, painted in Kent County and donated to the Maryland Historical Society in 1900.[42] This eight-and-one-half-foot panel, which could easily have been known to Simon Wilmer, is almost certainly the work of a self-trained painter and, interestingly enough, contains the same documentary value as to its time and place. But the painter involved with the Wilmer work probably had been exposed to some more sophisticated art in matters of brushwork and delineation and perhaps composition as well.

Our artist could have been like Frederick Kemmelmeyer, immigrant from Germany, working in Baltimore in the 1790s and advertising a wide range of artistic services.[43] A painter plying his trade on the Eastern Shore during this same period and sometimes signing his name was William Clarke, who may possibly have come from England. His name appears incised on the back of an overmantel in Queen Anne's County dated 1793.[44] But the style and technique of the Wilmer panel does not match the work of these men. In the same year, as it happens, a certain J. J. Boudier advertised the following talents in the *Chestertown Spy: or, Apollo*: drawing lessons, figures, ornamentals, plans and portrait miniatures. He offered classes at Washington College and private lessons to small groups in the town. Boudier next surfaced in Philadelphia, where he did physiognotrace work and signed an engraving.[45] Although he was in Chestertown at a propitious moment, there is no basis to assign our panel to him—though he may have taught or aided its author.

The matter of artistic attribution must be laid aside, for the time being, owing to lack of evidence. Meanwhile, we can say with some certainty that the picture stands out among those of the period for what is presented. It does not fall into the generality of view paintings, featuring large foreground trees with picturesque lighting and some tiny, admiring bystanders.[46] The *View of Chestertown from White*

House Farm combines three genres: the mounted figure portrait, the family estate view, and the town panorama. This particular amalgam cannot be found in the work of such small-town painters as Ralph Earl or even in engravings of the period.[47] If there are other examples, they are likewise rare.

There is something quite *Chesapeake* in the character of this painting: a ship going down river, a productive field with black workers, the love of horses, the constant hints of family interconnections, and the simple living style. The one dramatic element is the highlighted presence of the monumental Washington College building, which, thanks to an ambitious Philadelphian, has just made its appearance. That building has now been "documented" with some certainty. But so too have the town and many other elements. Kent County for a variety of reasons lacks eighteenth-century documentation. There is no 1798 federal direct-tax assessment for researchers to turn to, the 1790 and 1800 censuses are a jumble of names county-wide, many documents and lists are missing, and even the first college records have been lost by fire or negligence. And so *A View of Chestertown from White House Farm* provides us with a fascinating, informative, glimpse of Maryland's second oldest county.

NOTES

1. The donor, from an illustrious clerical line of the family, is a direct descendant of Rev. Richard Holland Wilmer, Washington College class of 1802, and the Reverend Richard Hooker Wilmer, mid-nineteenth-century bishop of Alabama. The writer also wishes to thank William Holland Wilmer II of White Hall, Md., for his kind assistance in tracing the whereabouts of the painting.

2. See for the next-day account of the fire in the *Chestertown Telegraph*, Fred W. Dumschott, *Washington College* (Chestertown: Washington College, 1980), pp. 48–49. The engraving, which is signed at the lower right "Pursell Sculp" is catalogued by Lois B. McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints, 1752–1859* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975), p. 81.

3. For the announcement of the building's dedication 17 June 1788 in the *Pennsylvania Packet and Advertiser*, see Dumschott, *Washington College*, p. 23.

4. William Smith's anonymously published *An Account of Washington College in the State of Maryland* (Philadelphia: Visitors and Governors of Washington College, 1784), p. 49, states the building "will be large and commodious, being One Hundred and Sixty feet in Length . . . and capable of containing near Two Hundred Students." Excavation results were reported by John P. McCarthy, with Robert Janson-La Palme, Daniel Ingersoll, Jr., and Kenneth J. Basalik, *Archaeological Investigations at Washington College*, (Chestertown: Washington College, 1981). The present writer's 1989 work revealed further intact foundations at the rear of the site.

5. A discussion of the early plat of the town may be found in John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville:

University Press of Virginia for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), pp. 111–14.

6. According to the inventory taken in 1798 after Simon's death, he was growing corn, wheat, oats and flax, in addition to hay (Kent County Inventories, 1798, ff. 50–55, MdHR). Wheat production in Kent County rose tremendously during the mid-century: see Paul G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore, From Tobacco to Grain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), pp. 194–96. Both grist and saw mills are listed in Simon's great grandfather's will of 1699; see Percy G. Skirven "Seven Pioneers of the Eastern Shore" *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 15 (1920): 419.

7. The painting had undergone at least two attempts at restoration prior to the 1991–1992 cleaning and painstaking reconstruction by Ms. Sian Jones, Baltimore. The top left corner in the sky area is almost totally lost due to scorching and previous exploratory treatment. The picture is made up of four yellow pine boards of differing widths primed with white hard finish oil paint, followed by a layer of dark green underpaint in the zone below the horizon line. Because of abrasion (perhaps due to overzealous housekeepers) many of the town buildings are much diminished and the entire side of the Wilmer house presents a patchy appearance.

8. The rear wing was raised two full storys and the panelling, which apparently contained the painting, removed during the Greek Revival period in mid-century (see old photograph in Fred G. Usilton, *History of Kent County, Maryland, 1630–1916* [Chestertown: privately published, 1916], p. 181). It is the writer's opinion that the crude attempt at a Greek style border dates from this same period. A narrow band of bare wood comes between the thickly painted edges of the image and the added border.

9. A pot and two whitewash brushes are listed in the 1798 inventory. There is an early cellar with windows and parts of the water table in the extant section of the early house that are omitted from the painting. The built-in benches of the two painted porches are found in area houses, but the twelve-pane transom light seems unusual (see similar multi-level transom windows at the 1732 president's house and the Brafferton, College of William and Mary, in Marcus Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg* [Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1958], figs. 43 and 46).

10. The tract is described in Kent County Land Records, Book 1 Liber C 1688, Maryland Hall of Records (hereafter MdHR), and subdivided in the above-cited Simon Wilmer will of 1699. Stepney, the original Wilmer property, was patented earlier (Patents, 10:198, MdHR).

11. See 1783 Assessment No. 3 (Chester and Worton Hundreds) MdHR, where Simon Wilmer owns 127 acres of Stepney and 123 acres of Tilghman and Foxley Grove. The writer is greatly indebted to Dr. Bayly E. Marks for assistance in gathering data from the state archives and for many helpful suggestions.

12. In the deeds for Chestertown, MdHR, Simon Wilmer is recorded as involved in the sale of no fewer than sixty-five Chestertown lots 1730–1738. For the complex controversy surrounding the purchase of three acres for the court see

Morris L. Radoff, *The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland, Part One: The Courthouses* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1960), pp. 106–7.

13. *Apollo: or Chestertown Spy*, 9 April 1793, extolls the pedigree of his "beautiful bay," which could be the very horse in the painting. The fast thoroughbred Selima was imported by Col. Benjamin Tasker, Jr. (see Shirley V. Baltz, *Chronicle of Belair* [Bowie: Bowie Heritage Committee, 1984], p. 28).

14. Kent Inventories, 1798, ff. 50–55, MdHR, describes individually horses valued as high as £25. The local race track was about a mile from town, past the college. Simon's inventory also lists sixteen pictures, but at such a low value that clearly only prints, and not our oil painting, were counted.

15. In 1789 Simon Wilmer sold a lot on Stepney directly behind Dr. James Anderson's garden to Hezekiah Dunn as marriage settlement of Mary Dunn, "soon to be Mrs. Wilmer" (Kent County, Land Record Abstracts, 1786–96, f. 202, MdHR).

16. George A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876; repr. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1976), p. 328 gives Peregrine's birth year. Stephen F. Tillman, *Tillman Family, 1225–1945* (Ann Arbor: privately published, 1946), p. 11, confirms month and day of the same year. Peregrine by Simon's first marriage died in infancy. The next child by the second marriage did not survive and the third, Lemuel, was born 1 January 1795, according to Tillman; but the picture shows only one child (perhaps two or three years old).

17. That the building is preserved relatively well in the painting was confirmed by the most recent restoration; that the building was in the picture from the first is proven by X-ray analysis provided by Dr. Richard Wolbers, head of painting conservation at the Winterthur Museum. Some of the particulars concerning the building's construction can be found in Dumschott, *Washington College*, pp. 18–19.

18. Dumschott, *Washington College*, p. 29, summarizes more of the Frenchman's impressions, as taken from the London translation of 1800. Board minutes in the college archives indicate the need of serious interior work as late as 28 June, 1819.

19. The building of the large Methodist Meeting House on the "Public Ground on the Market Place" was permitted by the General Assembly in November 1801.

20. L. Wethered Barroll "Washington College, 1783," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 6 (1911): 164. Barroll summarized important early records which were lost in a college fire of 1916. The college was incorporated or given its charter on 24 May 1782. See *Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1782*, ch. 8.

21. Peregrine Wroth, Memoirs, p. 14, Ms. 926, MdHS.

22. Prof. Rowland Watts in his sub-chapter "Washington College," in Bernard C. Steiner, ed., *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 72.

23. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1965), p. 81. Benjamin Benson was in charge. See also Barroll, "Washington College," p. 176.

24. There is little information about the Club House building. A simple rendering on the Club House lot of a one-story building appears on a nineteenth-century copy of the 1730 plat. See Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, fig. 78, p. 113. Simon sold to

Isaac Harris in that same year the lot for the literary society and "where Wilmer has erected a house for the use of the said Society" (Kent County Deeds, JS 16, f. 1, MdHR). The building was a recitation hall for the college 1784–86. See Barroll, "Washington College," p. 176. An article explaining this and other as yet unidentified structures in the painting is in preparation.

25. *Chestertown Gazette* (new name for the *Apollo; or Spy*) on 8 October 1793 announced a meeting of the Jockey Club to fix a date for the races.

26. *Laws of Maryland Made Since MDCCLXII,* (Annapolis, Frederick Greene, 1787), 1784, ch. 4, notes that the inhabitants have erected a "convenient market-house" at the place "appropriate for a market."

27. Fred W. Dumschott, *Emmanuel Episcopal Church, 1772–1972: Chester Parish, Kent County, Maryland* (Chestertown: privately published, 1972), pp. 5–6.

28. The convention was called by Rev. William Smith soon after his arrival in Town. See Horace W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Ferguson Bros., 1880), 2:35–39; also Dumschott, *Emmanuel Church,* pp. 9–11.

29. Radoff, *County Courthouse,* pp. 104–9. A Martinet map of Kent County (Baltimore, 1860) includes a small view of the court house just before the eighteenth-century building was razed.

30. A concise up-to-date account of Thomas Ringgold's enlargement of his house can be found in William V. Elder III, *Maryland Period Rooms: The Baltimore Museum of Art* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1987), pp. 16–19.

31. A good summation of Ringgold's career and his family ties can be found in Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 2:694–95. The Wilmer family tree is filled with Ringgold connections.

32. Mentions of the bridge begin as early as 1802 (Fred G. Usilton, *History of Kent,* p. 190) and are repeated in legislative acts in 1804 and 1807. There is no absolute certainty it was built before 1821.

33. The distillery was built on Stepney land at the south end of Princess Street outside the Town plat and was transferred by Edward Worrell and John Lorain in 1780 to a group of gentlemen who were interested in establishing a Methodist meeting house there (Kent County Deeds, DD5, f. 527, MdHR).

34. Kent County Wills v. 6/608, MdHR. The important point is that the White House and lands nearby were left to James, his first son by his first wife. Being in debt at the time of Simon's death in 1798, the house and farm were sold by James soon after (Kent County Deeds, TW1, f. 514, MdHR).

35. Armor leased several college lots in 1784 and acquired Town lot 59 on High Street in 1789 (Kent County Land Record Abstracts, 1789–96, f. 187 MdHR).

36. The women are noted in Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), p. 438. Given the purchase price, theirs must have been a small dwelling. See also Barroll, "Washington College," pp. 173, 176–77, where Mrs. Peale is incorrectly referred to as the daughter of Charles Willson Peale.

37. The excavated college foundations follow an east-west axis, High Street runs south-east to north-west, and the remaining section of White House comes close to an east-west orientation (and it certainly does not angle inward toward High Street as in the painting).

38. Simon Wilmer gave £15, to the original subscription for the College, somewhat more than the acceptable minimum of £9. See [Smith] *An Account*, p. 17. As a vestryman of Chester parish, he also supported Rev. William Smith's elevation to the office of bishop (Smith, *Life*, 2:240). William Holland Wilmer appears to have been the only graduate in 1802 (Dumschott, *Washington College*, p. 31). It seems likely that his brothers may have studied in the grammar school as well.

39. Usilton, *Kent County*, p. 180.

40. See Robert J. H. Janson-La Palme, "Generous Marylanders: Paying for Peale's Study in England," and Jules D. Prown, "Charles Willson Peale in London," in Lillian B. Miller and David C. Ward, eds., *New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press for the Smithsonian Institution, 1991), pp. 1–50. See Sellers, *Peale*, pp. 241–45, for the Maryland trip.

41. Peale's known paintings are oil on canvas or watercolor on ivory. Richard Miller, associate curator, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Williamsburg, provided insights on the painting of overmantels.

42. A review of the MdHS file on this painting suggests that J. Hall Pleasants was unable to determine definitively the exact nearby building from which it was removed.

43. See E. Bryding Adams, "Frederick Kemmelmeyer, Maryland Itinerant Artist," *Antiques*, January 1984, pp. 284–92. Also George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 365.

44. E. Sherry McFowble discusses Clarke and illustrates the Queen Anne's County overmantel in "Rinaldo and Armida: An example of Classical Nudity in Eighteenth Century American Painting," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 5 (1969): 49–58. The Baltimore Museum portrait of *Mrs. Levin Winder*, also dated by Clarke in 1793 shows the Somerset County lady in an elaborate headdress somewhat similar to that worn by the woman sitting with Mrs. Wilmer in the Chestertown overmantel.

45. *Chestertown Apollo: or, Spy*, 10 July 1793. Additional information in Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary*, p. 68.

46. For a wide selection of these, see Edward J. Nygren, ed., *Views and Visions, American Landscape before 1830* (Washington: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1986). One of earliest townscapes by a major painter is John Smibert's *A View of Boston*, 1738; see p. 111.

47. See Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, et al., *Ralph Earl: The Face of the Young Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press for Wadsworth Atheneum, 1991). Of particular interest is Earl's *Landscape View of Old Bennington*, 1798, pp. 226–28, even though the English-trained Earl painted his oil on canvas. For an excellent sampling of engraved town views, see Martin P. Snyder, *City of Independence, Views of Philadelphia Before 1800* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), especially fig. 116 and color plates 2 and 5.

"Passed Midshipman, U.S. Navy," from the *United States Military Magazine*, 2 (1840–41).

With a Schoolmaster Aboard the U.S. Frigate *Constellation*, 1829–1831

WALLACE SHUGG

At noon on 10 July 1829 a ship bearing President Andrew Jackson drew abreast of the *Constellation*, then anchored off Norfolk, Virginia. The command "man the yards" broke the stillness. Dressed in their summer whites, the sailors sprang to the rigging, scrambled aloft, and spread themselves out on the yards in nine parallel lines. On command signal they waved their hats three times and cheered loudly. To twenty-three-year-old Enoch Cobb Wines, who had just joined the frigate as schoolmaster for her midshipmen, the sight was the first of many novel scenes he witnessed during the ship's Mediterranean cruise of 1829–1831.[1]

His journal of that voyage, *Two Years and a Half in the Navy*, provides a rare account of daily life and early naval customs and conditions aboard the distinguished man-o'-war. Launched at Baltimore in 1797 and mounting forty-four guns, the *Constellation* defeated the frigate *L'Insurgente* in 1799 and duelled with the *La Vengeance* a year later during the undeclared war with France. She fought the Algerians off the shores of Tripoli in 1802, stood guard against British ships in the War of 1812, and saw action again in 1815 during the second Barbary War. Thereafter the veteran warship helped control piracy and protect American interests in the Caribbean and off South America.[2]

Wines had never been to sea and was eager to see the world. A farmer's son from Shoreham, Vermont, he had graduated from Middlebury College in 1827 and gone on to teach in Washington, D.C. He then procured his appointment to the *Constellation* with the help of her captain.[3] As the young schoolmaster was being rowed out to the anchored frigate, he was struck by her beauty, "her three masts towering as if in rivalry of each other—her ten thousand ropes, so intricate that all was apparent confusion, and yet so arranged that all was perfect order—her innumerable spars, delicately and tastefully tapered." From the huge hull projected a double row of guns or "teeth" above curving sides that seemed to him more beautiful than the perpendicular sides of the newer frigates.[4]

The hull of the *Constellation* measured 164 feet long and 40 feet wide.[5] Of her three decks, the upper or spar deck carried the lighter guns and was divided into the quarterdeck, aft of the mainmast, the forecastle, forward of the foremast, and

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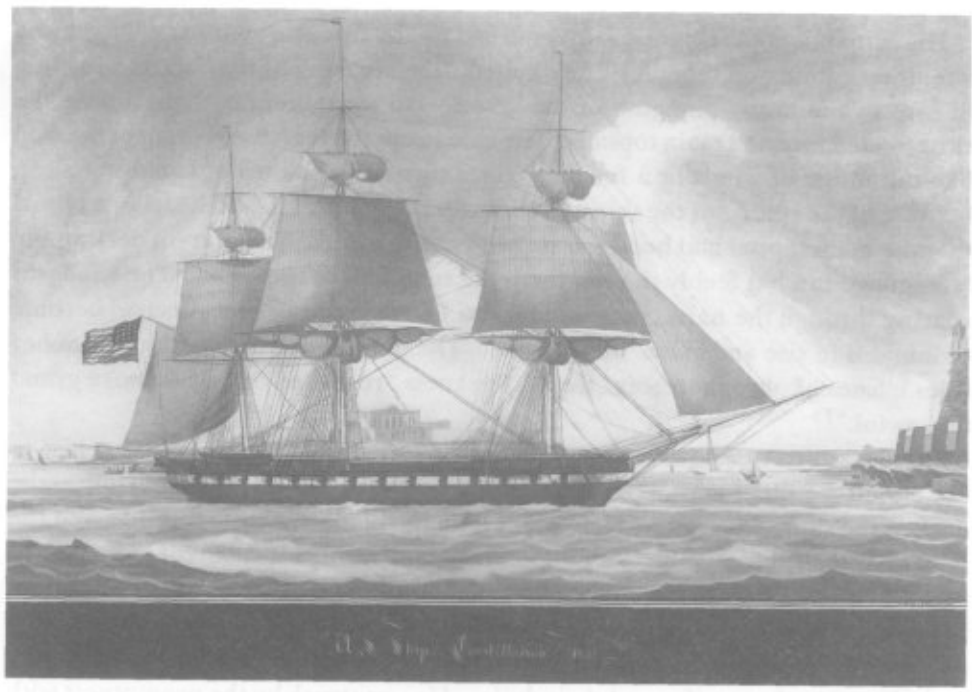
that part in between used for storing boats and extra spars, called the booms. Wines described the quarterdeck as "the most sacred part of the ship" because correct behavior and proper dress were required by all who had business there. Later in the voyage, he himself would be reprimanded for walking there on a hot day without his cravat. On the gun deck below, between the captain's cabin aft and the galley forward, the ship mounted the heavier cannon. Below this was the berth deck, divided into the wardroom aft for commissioned officers, followed by the steerage, where the midshipmen swung their hammocks at night, the quarters for petty officers, and the sick bay all the way forward.[6]

Wines spent a sleepless first night at sea down in the steerage, kept awake by the unfamiliar sounds of snoring, the tread of duty officers overhead, and the occasional grunting of the pigs penned nearby. And just as he finally dozed off at 4 A.M., the hands were called to sand and holystone the decks. "On board a man of war," he noted wryly, "one soon learns to sleep in the midst of all sorts of noises."[7]

A more serious shock to his system lay ahead. When the ship reached the deep waters of the Atlantic, sea sickness struck down the greenhorns. "I will not disgust the reader by a minute description of the scenes which it produced," he said, "I will merely say you loathe every thing you see, or hear, or taste, or touch, or smell, and your own life into the bargain." The old hands merely laughed at them.[8]

Being a landlubber, Wines was at first bewildered by the hurrying of the sailors to and fro in obedience to strange orders, issued either from the deck officer's trumpet ("so much Arabic") or the varied whistles of the boatswain's mates ("nothing was a greater enigma to me"). In time, better acclimated, he described the frigate as "a small city" of some four hundred men organized according to rank, power, and duties. Like any city, the ship had her carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, cooks, blacksmith, cooper, surgeon, chaplain, merchant/banker (the purser), and police officer (the master-at-arms). In addition, there were those who governed, sailed, and fought the ship: the officers, petty officers, midshipmen, ordinary seamen, and boys. The marines obviously puzzled Wines: "A marine is a sort of ambidextrous animal—half horse, half alligator," because he combined the duties of a soldier and a sailor, though "excused from going aloft." Life aboard ship meant order and routine: everyday, "the same stroke of the bell is followed by the same whistle, the same call, and the recurrence of the same duties. At least once a day the call to quarters was sounded by a blast from the bugle followed by the beat of the drum, at which time the men were mustered. Afterward, the men resumed their daily routine of cleaning and repairing the ship, working the sails, or in gun drill.[9] Grog—watered whiskey, not rum—was served out to the men twice a day, before dinner and supper. The crew ate their rations in groups of fifteen or twenty, seated on the deck cross-legged around a square of tarred canvas spread between two guns. When fresh provisions ran out at sea, the standard fare consisted mainly of salt pork or beef, beans, lobscowse (hashed salt beef and potatoes), and heavy plum duff. Wines found the water generally so bad in smell and taste that he had to hold his breath while drinking it.[10]



"U.S. Ship *Constellation*," watercolor on paper by Maltese artist Nicolas Cammillieri, 1831 (U.S. Naval Academy Museum).

Although he began the voyage by eating and sleeping in the steerage with the midshipmen, Wines soon found their skylarking intolerable. When the watch was changed at midnight and again at 4 A.M., the "young gentlemen" would keep the whole steerage awake for fifteen or twenty minutes longer with their "volleys of brilliant repartee and loud peals of laughter." And one night, a man came off watch to turn in and found a goat securely lashed in his hammock. Along with some other messmates, Wines retreated to the cockpit below the steerage and the waterline, a dark hole only fourteen feet square and four-and-one-half feet high, lit by candles day and night, and smelling strongly of the bilges. Nevertheless, he preferred it to the noisy steerage.[11]

As numerous passages in his journal show, Wines's youthful spirit enabled him to rise above petty annoyances and take delight in the beauty of the sea and the ship under sail. "When we had a fresh breeze," he wrote, "I often amused myself by sitting on the bowsprit. At such times, the ocean presents a most magnificent prospect, its surface is covered with breakers, white as the driven snow, and sparkling in the bright sun like burnished silver." Looking downward, he could see schools of porpoises jumping about the bow and reflecting the colors of the rainbow formed by the spray. "There is no object in nature that combines more of majesty and gracefulness than a ship under sail. As she plunges through the billowy waters, the freedom and grandeur of her motions make her appear like a being of another sphere."[12]

His romantic soul was especially gratified by the first storm at sea. "Night and a tempest coming on together!" he exulted, "the creaking of timbers, the rustling of canvas, the heavy plunging of the vessel. We were literally flying under the close-reefed fore and main topsails. The gale swept through the rigging of the ship like the music of winds in a forest." Wines turned in below but could not sleep because of the rolling of the ship and sliding loose gear. At 2 A.M., hearing a report that the main topsail had been shredded by the storm, Wines went on deck again: "Language can but feebly shadow forth the sublimity of the scene. The wind was roaring through the naked masts and ropes like thunder. The waves had become mountains in size and giants in strength." The plunging ship threw out from her sides masses of phosphorescent foam. Darkness "rendered the scene more grand and awful."[13]

In calmer weather he explored the ship, his curiosity at one point taking him to the maintop-gallant mast head, from which height he looked down fearfully: "the deck of the ship appeared scarcely wider than the blade of a carving knife, and the men on it looked like Gulliver's Lilliputians." This being his first visit aloft, he was asked by the captain of the top to "pay his footing"—that is, to treat each of the hands manning the maintop to a glass of grog.[14]

On deck the young landsman observed closely the daily behavior of the sailors and officers as they performed their duties. He was struck by the promptness with which orders were carried out, but especially by "the extreme respect, amounting almost to servility, paid by the men to their superiors. Whenever a man passes an officer, he never fails to pay him the compliment of touching his hat, and when he converses with him, this act is repeated at almost every word. In the absence of a hat, he gives his forehead a knock, which answers the same purpose."[15]

Prompt obedience by all hands was enforced by the boatswain's mates with the "colt," a hemp whip consisting of a single lash.[16] Serious offenses were punished with up to a dozen strokes from the cat-o'-nine-tails. On such occasions, all hands were piped to witness punishment, the master-at-arms counting off the strokes audibly. Another frequent punishment was stopping a man's grog, which the hands considered more severe—"a sailor would sooner receive a dozen any moment than be kept out of his grog for a week." Yet another punishment was confinement in the brig, which on board the *Constellation* was simply a designated space between the two forward guns on the starboard side of the gun deck. A prisoner could be confined in single irons (hands fettered) or double irons (hands and feet fettered).[18]

As the ship neared England, the sea again became rough. "The ocean for many days in succession appeared like a vast expanse of moving mountains. Nothing could surpass its dark and angry sublimity." Lifelines were fastened between the guns to cling to while traversing the deck. In the candlelit cockpit below, Wines and his messmates struggled with "the threefold business" of eating, holding their dishes, and keeping their balance—"one more luckless than the rest, at an extraordinary lurch, [ran] to the bucket to 'heave up' his half finished meal." On 12 September, after nearly a month at sea, the *Constellation* moored off the Isle of Wight to replenish her stores.[18]

Once again in the English Channel and bound for the Mediterranean, Wines began his official duties as schoolmaster. At this time, before the establishment of the U.S. Naval Academy in 1845, he found much to criticize in the system of educating future naval officers. Aboard the *Constellation* the classroom consisted simply of a space between three of the guns screened off by a canvas curtain from the gaze of passersby but not, he said, from the "Babel of noises" on the gun deck. At first he taught navigation and related subjects for two hours in the morning and two hours in the evening to classes of ten to fifteen midshipmen—who could be called to their shipboard duties at any time. Later, in the Mediterranean, these hours were reduced to only "one poor hour" a day, when teachers of French, Spanish, and dancing came aboard. Without rank or authority, Wines had difficulty controlling his high-spirited pupils. Nor was backing provided by the officers, most of whom throughout the fleet regarded the duties of the schoolroom as subordinate to all others aboard ship.[19]

Under the current system, Wines noted, midshipmen entered the service without any aptitude test and at an impressionable age (fourteen to seventeen). To acquire practical seamanship, they were immediately sent to sea for most of the five years preceding their examination. During this time they were exposed to the rough company of older men aboard ship and to the temptations of seaport towns visited by the fleet. Somehow among all these distractions, they were expected to pick up enough theoretical knowledge to pass their examination. "Such a system may make good sailors," Wines said, "but it will never make thorough navigators." He urged the establishment of an academy, like the one at West Point, to educate future naval officers intellectually and morally. He favored a planned curriculum of mathematics, philosophy, literature, and modern languages.[20]

Meanwhile Wines advanced his own education. When the ship entered the Mediterranean, he went ashore at every opportunity to mingle with the inhabitants and learn their language and visit museums and historical sites. He filled his journal with discriminating observations and drawings. From her squadron's base—Port Mahon in Minorca—the *Constellation* criss-crossed the Mediterranean over the next two and one-half years, visiting countries as far eastward as Greece and Turkey. Wines's knowledge of history and the classics greatly enriched his experiences ashore.

The visit to Tripoli aroused especially strong emotions in Wines and, doubtless too, in the squadron's commander, Commodore James Biddle. When the squadron came to in the deeper waters off the harbor entrance, Wines peered through a spyglass and could see the Bashaw's Castle rising above the walls of the town. Within this grim stone edifice a quarter of a century earlier, he recalled from history, Commodore Biddle—then a midshipman—had been held prisoner, along with the rest of the crew of the ill-fated frigate *Philadelphia*, until ransomed two years later. While the commodore went ashore to transact some business—his first visit there since his imprisonment—Wines was filled with patriotic pride as he reflected on the daring exploits of Stephen Decatur, Edward Preble, and others during that first Barbary War. He chided his countrymen for stopping short of

total victory: "was it becoming the honour and dignity of our government to buy a peace of the enemy? Yet this was in effect done by paying a ransom for the prisoners."[21]

On 5 October 1831 the *Constellation* set sail for home, and twenty-nine days later she dropped anchor in the Chesapeake off Old Point Comfort. "For two or three days after our arrival," he wrote, "the whole crew appeared to be in a delirium of joy."[22]

Wines celebrated his own homecoming by marrying a woman who eventually bore him seven sons. He continued to teach or concern himself with educational matters and for a time became active in the ministry. Later in life he found his true vocation. Beginning in 1861, at the age of fifty-six, he devoted himself to the cause of penal reform, ultimately acquiring an international reputation. He died 10 December 1879 after finishing his last book, the monumental *State of Prisons and Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World*.[23]

NOTES

1. Enoch Cobb Wines, *Two Years and a Half in the Navy: or, a Journal of a Cruise in the Mediterranean and Levant on Board of the U. S. Frigate Constellation, in the Years 1829, 1830, and 1831* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1832), 1:11–12.
2. Brother C. Edward, "The U.S.S. Constellation," *American History Illustrated*, 9 (April 1974): 15–21.
3. Negley K. Teeters, *Deliberations of the International Penal and Penitentiary Congresses, 1872–1935* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1946), p. 27.
4. Wines, *Journal*, 1:11, 20.
5. Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of the American Sailing Navy* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1949), p. 536.
6. Wines, *Journal*, 1:21–25 .
7. Ibid., 1:13–14.
8. Ibid., 1:57.
9. Ibid., 1:13, 20, 27–46.
10. Ibid., 1:48–49.
11. Ibid., 1:17–18, 54.
12. Ibid., 1:66–67.
13. Ibid., 1:61–62.
14. Ibid., 1:58–59.
15. Ibid., 1:46.
16. Harold D. Langley, *Social Reform in the United States Navy, 1798–1862* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), p. 141.
17. Wines, *Journal*, 1:64–65.
18. Ibid., 1:64–66.
19. Ibid., 2:98–100, and William O. Stevens, "Two Early Proposals for Nautical Education," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, 29 (1913): 132.

20. Wines, *Journal*, 2:97, 102–4; John A. Tiernay, "William Chauvenet: Father of the Naval Academy," *Shipmate*, 32 (Sept.–Oct., 1969): 7.
21. Wines, *Journal*, 1:128–30.
22. Ibid., 2:243–44.
23. *The State of Prisons and of Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World* (1880; repr. Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1968).

Robert D'Unger and His Reminiscences of Edgar Allan Poe in Baltimore

JOHN E. REILLY

Because Edgar Allan Poe was both a very private as well as elusive figure (perhaps deliberately so), his biographers have had to rely heavily upon reminiscences—upon the eye-witness accounts and first-hand impressions of him by Sarah Helen Whitman, Fanny Osgood, "Annie" Richmond, Thomas Holley Chivers, Mary Gove Nichols, Marie Louise Shew, J. E. Snodgrass, George R. Graham, N. P. Willis, William Gowans, and still others who were acquainted with him personally. One reminiscence, however, has enjoyed far less attention than might be expected. It is a ten-page autograph letter that a Chicago physician wrote on 29 October 1899, alleging to furnish specific details about Poe and his behavior based upon a personal acquaintance with him in Baltimore between 1846 and 1849. Addressed to Chevalier Elmer Robert Reynolds of Washington, D.C., the letter, which has never been published in its entirety, is among the Poe materials at the University of Virginia.[1]

The letter has languished in a limbo of biographical evidence for at least two reasons. First, scholars have had reservations about the authenticity and accuracy of a seventy-odd year old person's account of experiences that occurred a half century earlier. John H. Ingram, Poe's feisty English biographer, scrawled "a pack of lies" across the top of the manuscript when it came into his hands. Ingram was hesitant enough, however, to hedge by adding, "with, perhaps, some grains of truth." When he published a portion of the text in 1906, Poe editor and biographer James A. Harrison warned that the "account is highly improbable" in some of its principal assertions about Poe's movements between 1846 and 1849.[2] Arthur Hobson Quinn cited the letter in his 1941 biography with the caveat that it contains "many obvious errors."[3] Having uncovered what he considered "independent evidence" corroborating some of its details, the prominent Poe scholar Thomas Ollive Mabbott was more willing to accept the letter as creditable.[4] Presumably sharing Mabbott's confidence, Dwight Thomas and David K. Jackson have drawn upon the letter in their *Poe Log*, and Kenneth Silverman alludes to it once in passing in his recently published biography of Poe.[5]

The other reason why the letter languishes is that—although written on stationery of the Palmer House Hotel in Chicago, addressed specifically from Room

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Dr. Reilly is retired from teaching American literature at the College of the Holy Cross.

733, and signed—the identity and even the name of the person who wrote it have never been established. Harrison transcribed the signature as "R. D'Unger, M.D.," and A. H. Quinn concurred.[6] Describing the letter in the collection catalogue at the University of Virginia, John Carl Miller took the punctuation mark following the *D* to be a period rather than an apostrophe and read the name as "R. D. Unger."[7] Mabbott not only accepted Miller's reading, but he took Harrison to task for printing extracts from the letter "as if by 'R. D'Unger.'"[8] Thomas and Jackson offer still a third alternative in their *Poe Log*: "Robert DeUnger."[9] Silverman follows this third spelling.[10]

It is the intent here to liberate the letter from its limbo of biographical evidence by identifying its author, establishing that Poe was in Baltimore or passed through the city enough times between 1846 and 1849 for the author to have met him on a number of occasions, and demonstrating that the author's reminiscences—while by no means free of inaccuracies, whether deliberate or the result of faulty recollection of events that occurred a half century earlier—likely contain far more than the few "grains of truth" that Ingram grudgingly conceded.

Professor Mabbott's chiding notwithstanding, Harrison and Quinn were correct in their reading of the signature. The punctuation following the D was not a period but an apostrophe; consequently the author was not R. D. Unger, or even R. DeUnger, but R. D'Unger. Specifically, it was Robert D'Unger.[11] D'Unger's family traced its origins to thirteenth-century Bohemia and includes such notables as Henri der Unger, an acquaintance and enthusiastic follower of John Calvin, and Gabrielle de Bourbon, daughter of Henry of Navarre. According to family history, Robert D'Unger's paternal grandfather, Henri, accompanied the Marquis de Lafayette and Baron de Kalb to America in 1777 aboard the ship *Victoire* to join forces with the Continental Army and remained in this country after the Treaty of Paris.[12] Robert D'Unger's father, also named Henri, was born about 1785, married Sara Spear, and settled in western Maryland not far from the Potomac River, where he was the owner and operator of a saw mill and a "grist" mill as well as an accomplished musician and a teacher of music.

One of seven children of Henri and Sara, Robert D'Unger was born in the vicinity of Hagerstown, Maryland, in December of 1824 or 1825 and grew up in western Maryland and eastern Pennsylvania.[13] He moved to Baltimore around 1844, where he worked as a printer and journalist and was associated with the *Baltimore Patriot* when he made his acquaintance with Poe in 1846. D'Unger married Maria Louisa Smith in 1847, and he attended the Eclectic Medical College of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in the 1850s, taking his degree early in 1859.[14] D'Unger then returned to Maryland, where his first wife died in December of that year. Licensed to practice medicine, he "gave it little or none of [his] attention," being "absorbed" instead by politics and journalism.[15] His second marriage, to Laura V. Keene, took place in 1861, and the couple settled in the vicinity of Cambridge on the Eastern

Shore. Although opposed to the breakup of the Union, D'Unger sympathized openly with the Confederacy. During an altercation with federal authorities attempting to arrest him in the offices of his Cambridge Herald, he was wounded but escaped to Europe. He passed much of the remainder of the Civil War in Paris and London, where he served as a correspondent to several New York newspapers.

Returning to this country late in 1864 or early in 1865,[16] D'Unger practiced medicine, journalism, and politics in eastern Maryland until early in 1871 when, in his own words, "fed to the full with the flaming advertisements of Jay Cooke & Co." (which held out the promise of fortunes to be made in the wake of the Northern Pacific Railroad), D'Unger "resolved to wend [his] way to the then somewhat-famous city of Duluth."[17] There he founded the Duluth *Daily Herald* and accumulated a fortune in real estate until, in 1874, "the panic having crippled the town and ruined its prospects," as well as ruining D'Unger financially, he moved to Minneapolis and subsequently to Chicago.[18] Licensed as a physician in Illinois, he opened an office in the Palmer House late in 1878 and practiced medicine there for more than two decades. D'Unger died in Chicago of complications of diabetes on 30 January 1908, survived by his wife and at least five of his eight children.

D'Unger was a man of unusually wide interests. He was an author as well as a journalist: twenty-one of his brief prose sketches, presumably autobiographical, about boyhood in Western Maryland have survived.[19] In 1869, a half dozen years before Bell patented his telephone, D'Unger "filed a caveat" to protect his "Electro-Medical Music Box," purportedly his version of of the same instrument.[20] Two decades later he developed the "D'Unger Long Distant Telephone," which was capable of transmitting messages by wire fifteen hundred miles, a distance far exceeding any other instrument at the time. He filed for a variety of other patents: a "Safety Device for Electric Circuits" (1895), a device for transmitting images which he called the "Telephot" (1896), a "Running-Gear for Vehicles" (1901), an "Electric Cable" (1904), and a "Submarine Telephone," i.e., an underwater transmission cable (1904). D'Unger was an entrepreneur as well as an inventor. He made and lost fortunes in real estate, both in Duluth and in Chicago, and in 1890 he organized the D'Unger Long Distance Telephone Company, a promising venture which unfortunately fell victim to competition for lucrative public utility franchises, cutthroat competition à la Theodore Dreiser's *The Titan*.

More relevant to his 1899 letter to Reynolds, especially to his observations upon Poe's drinking habits, D'Unger as a physician had a long-standing interest in alcoholism or, as it was then called, "dipsomania," a special interest he developed early in his medical career. By his own account, D'Unger stumbled upon the use of quinine (specifically "cinchona rubra") as a cure for drunkenness in the late 1860s while still in Maryland.[21] In keeping with his entrepreneurial spirit, he promoted his "cure" vigorously once he had established his medical practice in Chicago, and in 1879 he published *Dipsomania: Dr. D'Unger's Cinchona Rubra Cure for Drunkenness—Continuous or Periodical*. Intended as a promotional device, with over half of its twenty-seven pages devoted to testimonials attesting to the efficacy of his cure, this little pamphlet identifies the nature of alcohol, spells out its baleful

effects upon mind and body, and lays out D'Unger's own distinction between two kinds of drunkenness, i.e., "continuous" and "periodical"—the latter of which he associates with Poe in his letter to Reynolds. The pamphlet surveys the history of "cinchona bark" from its introduction into Europe from Peru in the seventeenth century and furnishes an account of how D'Unger discovered it as a "cure" for alcoholism, an account in which D'Unger includes a sketch of his own career. Though the pamphlet makes no mention of Poe, it bears witness to D'Unger's special and long-standing interest in alcoholism and the effects of alcohol, an interest that qualified him as someone to whom we should at least attend when he relates his first-hand observations upon Poe's behavior in his letter to Reynolds.

Robert D'Unger, M.D., practicing in Chicago. Courtesy of John Breckenridge Warfield.

The genesis of D'Unger's letter is not clear. He explains to Reynolds that he is writing his account of "what I knew" of "the lamented Edgar Allan Poe" in response to a request from Reynolds that D'Unger had received in the mail that morning. What D'Unger does not explain is how he came to Reynolds's attention in the first place as someone who had been acquainted with Poe fifty years earlier. Perhaps Reynolds ran across something about Poe that D'Unger had published somewhere, possibly something like the note by way of "'correction'" about the circumstances of Poe's death that he tells Reynolds he recently submitted to the Baltimore *American*—though this particular note seems not to have been printed. Perhaps Reynolds came to D'Unger's attention as the result of newspaper accounts of ceremonies held at the University of Virginia on 7 October 1899, three weeks before D'Unger composed his letter.[22] The ceremonies in Charlottesville marked the semi-centennial of Poe's death and featured the unveiling of George Julian Zolnay's bust of Poe, who briefly attended the University. Chevalier Reynolds closed the evening exercises with a brief speech "upon the Last Days of Poe," a subject D'Unger acknowledged to have been of special interest to him. Since reports of the Charlottesville ceremonies circulated widely in the press, they could easily have come to D'Unger's attention; D'Unger may then have written to Reynolds, who in turn asked D'Unger to furnish an account of his relationship with Poe in Baltimore back in the 1840s.[23]

Identifying Robert D'Unger to have been the author of the letter to Chevalier Reynolds is only the first step toward establishing his reminiscences as legitimate biographical evidence. Two other steps remain. One is to establish that Poe was in Baltimore or passed through the city often enough between 1846 and 1849 for D'Unger to have become familiar with him. Still another step is to demonstrate that in 1899 D'Unger was accurate and credible enough for his reminiscences to contain more than the few "grains of truth" conceded by Ingram.

D'Unger gives Reynolds the impression that Poe spent a good deal of time in Baltimore between 1846 and 1849. Though this impression is not consistent with what we know of Poe's whereabouts, the fact remains that he did either visit the city or pass through it at least once during each of the four years. In 1846, the year D'Unger claims to have met him for the first time, Poe paid a visit to Baltimore and remained long enough to fall ill and recover. Evidence of this visit is in a letter to Poe from Mary E. Hewitt dated 15 April reporting that she and other friends "were all exceedingly sorry to hear of your illness in Baltimore, and glad when we heard that you had so far recovered as to be able to return to our latitude," i.e., to New York.[24]

In July of 1847 Poe travelled to Philadelphia, Washington, and northern Virginia.[25] Since this trip necessitated his changing trains in Baltimore between the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at least twice along the way, it is by no means unlikely that he would have stopped off to see friends and visit old haunts. In support of this 1847 visit, it should be noted that at one of his encounters with Poe that he described to Reynolds, D'Unger was carrying a copy of Melville's *Omoo*, a novel published in April of 1847, just three months before Poe passed through Baltimore on his way to and from Washington and northern Virginia.

In 1848 Poe left New York on or shortly after 17 July for a three week visit to Richmond.[26] Once again the trip would twice have taken him through Baltimore. On each occasion he would have had to walk between the terminal for the Philadelphia train and the dock for the Richmond boat, both of which were located in a neighborhood of Baltimore within easy reach of the all the locations D'Unger identifies having met Poe.

Finally, Poe is known to have been in Baltimore twice in 1849, once on his way to Richmond on 13–14 July[27] and again on his return trip begun in late September when he got only as far as Baltimore. D'Unger does state explicitly, however, not only that he "was away" from Baltimore at the time of Poe's death but that he "had lost sight of him for at least 6 months." Six months would preclude his meeting Poe even when Poe passed through Baltimore on his way *to* Richmond on 13–14 July, three months before his death. Moreover, even if D'Unger had been in town in mid-July, a meeting with Poe at that time would have been unlikely or at most very brief because Poe left Philadelphia by train at 10:00 P.M. on 13 July[28] for the five- or six-hour ride to Baltimore (a trip protracted by the need to ferry the train

across the Susquehanna River by steamboat), and he must have caught a boat from Baltimore early enough on the fourteenth in order to write a letter to Maria Clemm from Richmond that evening.[29] Although it is unlikely D'Unger could have met Poe on his final trip south, his claim to have "lost sight of him for at least 6 months" does imply another meeting some time toward the close of Poe's life. Perhaps the "at least 6 months" alludes to Poe's having stopped over in Baltimore on his way to and from Richmond in the summer of 1848. On the other hand, it could suggest still another visit by Poe to Baltimore during his last year, perhaps one among other visits between 1846 and 1849 that have not yet come to light, much as Poe's 1846 visit did not come to light, except for D'Unger's reminiscence, until Mary E. Hewitt's letter of 15 April 1846 was discovered by Professor Mabbott at the Boston Public Library as late as 1937.[30]

If it is granted that D'Unger had opportunities to meet Poe in Baltimore between 1846 and 1849, albeit he exaggerated the number of meetings, there remain questions of accuracy and credibility: the accuracy of half-century-old recollections on the part of a man in his mid-seventies and the credibility of someone who might be suspected of seeking to enhance his own stature by magnifying or fabricating the role he played in the life of a celebrity. But the specifics of D'Unger's letter to Reynolds attest both to the accuracy of his memory and to the credibility of his account.

D'Unger's accuracy is verifiable. He is remarkably accurate in his recollection of names of people. He is equally accurate in his recollection of places where he claims to have met Poe (e.g., the names of coffee houses, the location of an oyster house, and the identity of specific intersections), in his recollection of the address of Mary Nelson's whore house, and in his recollection of the location of "a fire-engine house" where Poe was said to have been cooped on his last visit to Baltimore. He is accurate, too, in stating that Poe's wife was alive but ill at the time of his initial meeting with him in 1846 and again in alluding to her as dead when he happened to meet Poe on a street corner while he, D'Unger, was carrying a novel published only three months after Virginia's death early in 1847.

D'Unger is believable as well—credible both in what he claims and what he fails to claim. He is especially convincing in his account of a meeting with Poe that took place "on South Gay street, near Lombard," an occasion when D'Unger was carrying "a couple of books he had just bought." They were Melville's *Omoo* and a volume containing Fouqué's *Undine* and *Sintram and His Companions*, presumably the 1845 Wiley and Putnam edition of William Tracey's translation. That D'Unger claims to to have been carrying a copy of *Omoo* (1847) and not Melville's *Typee* (1846) bears witness to his credibility because *Typee* was a far more popular and far better known novel than *Omoo* and thereby far more likely to have been cited by someone intent upon making a fabricated episode convincing.

Even more corroborative of D'Unger's credibility is his report of Poe's favorable comments upon the edition of Fouqué that D'Unger was carrying on that occasion. The episode could be suspected of being a fabrication with D'Unger having learned of Poe's admiration of Fouqué either directly from what Poe himself had written

on several occasions, especially a lengthy comment on Fouqué in his *Marginalia*, or through a secondary source such as George E. Woodberry's 1885 critical biography.[31] But Poe's praise of Fouqué on several occasions was only in relation to *Undine*, never to *Sintram and His Companions*.[32] Indeed, other than this episode reported by D'Unger, there is no record of Poe's ever having mentioned *Sintram*. Here again, if D'Unger were fabricating the episode with the aim of convincing Reynolds of his familiarity with Poe personally, why would he deliberately risk raising questions about his veracity by reporting that Poe singled out for praise a work he was never known to have mentioned and ignored a work he commended repeatedly in print?

D'Unger's credibility is enhanced, also, by his admission that he was absent from Baltimore at the time of Poe's death. If D'Unger were fabricating his reminiscence or attempting to magnify his stature as an associate of the celebrated author, surely it would have behooved him to allege or at least to imply that he was in the city and perhaps even nearby at the event of Poe's death and burial, especially since D'Unger tells Reynolds in his postscript that he was interested enough in the circumstances surrounding Poe's death to have submitted a "correction" on the subject to the Baltimore *American* "some weeks" before writing to Reynolds. After all, if D'Unger were fabricating his relationship with Poe, he would have run little risk of being exposed, for who in 1899 would be in a position to challenge claims as to D'Unger's whereabouts during that first week of October fifty years earlier?

Palmer House,[33] Chicago. Room 733.
October 29, 1899.

Chevalier Reynolds:

My dear Chevalier—Your letter, seeking information as I possess regarding my acquaintance with the lamented Edgar Allan Poe, came to hand this morning; and, in response, I will furnish you, willingly, with what I knew of him, prior to his demise in 1849. I first met him in 1846, about a year previous to his wife's death. He was probably 12 or 15 years my elder at that time, I nearing my majority. Mr. John N. Millington, then foreman of the Baltimore *Patriot*,[34] an evening paper, (also publishing a morning edition.) The introduction took place in Guy's Coffee House,[35] corner of Monument Square and Fayette street, but our conversation was quite brief, Mr. Poe being of a morose, melancholy, glum disposition and not much inclined to converse. He spoke to Mr. Millington of the illness of his wife—she had then been an invalid for some years—and remarked that there was a slight improvement in her condition. I do not remember where he said she was, but she certainly was not in Baltimore at that time. As Mr. Poe stood up to the "Bar" and drank off a *big* drink of whiskey, (I believe this was his favorite tipple),.[sic] Mr. Millington and myself joining him—my drink "California Pop,"[36] as it was called, I formed the opinion that the poet had, in his time, seen many a barkeeper's countenance; and, really, I pitied him, for I had read a number of his short stories,

printed, if my memory serves me correctly, in Graham's Gentleman's Magazine, a Philadelphia monthly, and greatly admired his style of composition[.] I was "courting" those days and the men in the *Patriot* office, on account of my youth, twitted me a good deal about it. At that time I was assisting Mr. John Wills,[37] who managed the commercial column of the Patriot. Mr. Millington joked me and mentioned the matter of my "courting" to Mr. Poe, who, with the gravity of a Church beadle, remarked—"My young friend—don't hurry yourself as to marriage. It has its joys, but its sorrows overbalance those." His manner, when he uttered this sentence, actually *chilled* me. A second drink—called for by Mr. Millington,—was indulged in and we separated. It is fresh in mind that Mr. Poe, on this occasion, was entirely destitute of funds, because he took Mr. Millington aside and borrowed a trifle from him.

Mr. Poe did not seem the style of man to make friends; and I never knew of his having any prominent ones in Baltimore. He was a chronic grumbler at his want of "luck," and was eternally finding fault with the people who bought his writings, always claiming that a man could make more money carrying a hod than he could with his pen. He frequently asserted that such men as Dr. Johnson, author of "Rasselas," Oliver Goldsmith and himself never should have been born, because the world didn't or wouldn't understand them. And, I remember, on one occasion, when Mr. Poe and I were standing on the corner of Baltimore and Light streets, that he quoted what Shakespeare says: "The good men do is buried with their bones," or something near that. I met him very often at a then famous oyster house. I think it was located at the corner of Howard and Saratoga streets;[38] and, on one occasion, whilst we were eating our "stews," he was unusually lively and *tried* to be witty—(there was no wit in him, however,)—he told me the old, old story of the two bumpkins who were quarreling over an oyster, who sought a lawyer's advice, and how the lawyer, opening the bivalve, ate the oyster and handed a shell to each of the disputants. Poe thought this story a great one. Where he had been, for a few months previous to this meeting at the oyster-house I do not know and he wouldn't tell me; but he had been somewhere and had just returned. He had about $10 and he thought that that sum was quite a large one for him! Indeed, he so expressed himself.

Mr. Poe was absent from Baltimore a good portion of the time between 1846 and 1849, the year of his death. He was missed a great deal, being a sort of "hanger on" around the newspaper offices and saloons. John Boyd's, coffeehouse, afterwards known as Reilly's, on South street, near Baltimore street—a "cellar" restaurant[39]—was one of his favorite resorts. In this place was a small room, the walls of which were covered with portraits of actors and actresses, old theatre bills, &c. Poe would spend a happy hour or two in this room if he had "a chum" with him, provided he could get a glass or two of ale or brown stout whilst there. He often alluded to the circumstance that his mother, (who died when he was quite young), was an actress; but I never heard him refer to his father. After a visit to "Boyd's," he was the "moodiest of the moody." Poe never was a brilliant talker, but he was a hard worker (and a hard drinker) when he had work to do. His mentality was of a peculiar quality and, on some occasions, especially after a drinking "bout," his talk

would run on the supernatural. I call to mind once meeting him on South Gay street, near Lombard; and, seeing a couple of books I had just bought, he asked what they were. One was Herman Melville's "*Omoo*," the other "*Undine*" and "Sintram and his Companions." Remarking upon the latter volume, (which contained the two stories, he said he had read them and thought Fouqué, the author, was one of the "deepest thinkers" that ever put pen to paper. He remarked that the character of *Sintram* was *true to nature. "Every man had his own devil."*

As said before, Poe was not a man to make friends, or, I may add, to keep them. He was conscious that he was not properly appreciated, and was continually on the "growl" when any one tendered him a compliment, as a writer. "People couldn't get meat and drink with compliments[.]" What few friends he had were the poorly-salaried newspaper men of that day. I never knew him to be in any other condition than one of "hard luck." In one way he was a "periodical" drinker; that is, he had his sober spells—yet I never saw him brutishly drunk, no matter how many glasses of the ardent he swallowed.[40] The story that one glass of liquor would "set him *wild*" is moonshine. The trouble with him was that he "*worked himself down*" and then became despondent. Drink was induced by this despondency, and he kept up the "drunk" as long as he had money; but without getting beastly drunk. He drank until his nerves were shattered, poured it down until he was actually sick. He ate very little whilst indulging. I suppose he told me a hundred times that *he was going to quit the habit*, and I am sure he was sincere in his wish to do so. All his drunks were followed by a weakening diarrhoea. That was what carried him off. The loss of his wife was a sad blow to him. He did not seem to care, after she was gone, whether he lived an hour, a day, a week or a year. She was "his all."

As to his death, it took place, I believe in an infirmary or hospital, located on Broadway, East Baltimore. I was away visiting at the time. Sometime after my return to the city a subscription was gotten up amongst the printers and newspaper men, with a view to place his remains in the burial yard of Westminster Church, Fayette and Green streets, and there they rest to-day. Now, whether he had been buried in a Potter's Field, (as has been asserted,) or whether he had just died when this subscription was gotten up is more than I can tell. As said above, I had been away from the city for some time and had lost sight of him for at least 6 months. He died, as I understood at the time from inflammation of the intestines, the diarrhoea preceding the fever.

The story recently afloat, to the effect that he was "cooped" by "ward heelers," drugged and kept drunk in the rear room of a fire-engine house, on Calvert street,[41] is mere twaddle. Poe was not a voter in Baltimore, being a non-resident; in addition, he was never looked upon as a "bum" and, although in them frequently, *was not a bar room* loafer. His drinking was that of a gentleman, if an unfortunate victim of alcohol can be rated a gentleman.

What the religious belief of Mr. Poe was I cannot say; but I am very sure he was a believer in spirit friends. "Spiritualism" was not then known; but, if it had been, I am confident Mr. Poe would have been a believer in the mystery, fraud or whatever it is.

I never heard Mr. Poe refer to his college days, nor did I ever hear him recite any of his own compositions. He rarely used a Latin or French word in his conversation, and he was reticent as to his knowledge of Greek. I heard him speak of the *Illiad* and *Odyssey*, of Homer, and of the works of Horace. He was an admirer of Scott's poetical works, and also of the poems of Ossian.

Now, to conclude I will give you a story told me by an infamous woman, named Mary Nelson, who kept an improper house in what was then known as Tripolet's alley.[42] As an alley it no longer exists.[43] Edgar Allan Poe was not a profane man, by any means, nor was he mentally debased; but, (as this woman said) he came to her house once, "half seas over," with a man named William Smith.[44] Smith bought a bottle of Champagne and two of the female inmates of the place were called into the "Parlor" to help drink the wine. One of these girls was quite young—a mere child of 16—and very beautiful. Poe got into a conversation with her and became terribly smitten. Her name was *Leonora Bouldin*,[45] and they called her "Lenore." The woman Nelson said that, after talking awhile with this girl, Poe gave her good advice, spoke of her parents, and finally got her crying. After her sobbing was over Poe pressed her to his heart and promised to see her again, but he never came back to the place. The girl shortly after this went to New Orleans, with a man named Rogers. Now, as this woman Nelson did not know Poe, and probably never heard of his writings, she being ignorant and totally uneducated, she most likely told the truth. The question is was this Leonora Bouldin the "Lost Lenore?" It is my impression she was, because this visit was made, as far as I could learn some time before the poem of the *Raven* was written.

The only thing Poe ever sympathized with, or pitied, was woman. He had no sympathy or pity for men.

And, dear Chevalier, this is all I can tell you about Edgar Allan Poe.

Very truly, R. D'Unger, M.D.

Room 733 Palmer House

I wrote a "correction" to the Baltimore *American* some weeks ago, as to the "cooping" story. If it was published would [you] be kind enough to hunt up the paper containing it and send the same to me, as above?[46]

NOTES

1. See item number 402 in the Ingram-Poe Collection (#38-135), Manuscripts Division, Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library.
2. James A. Harrison, "A Poe Miscellany," *Independent*, 61 (1 November 1906): 1050.
3. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography* (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1941), p. 506.
4. Edgar Allan Poe, *Poems*, ed. Thomas Ollive Mabbott, *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (3 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1969–1978), 1:561.

5. Dwight Thomas and David K. Jackson, *The Poe Log* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987), p. 628; Kenneth Silverman, *Edgar A. Poe: Mournful and Never-Ending Remembrance* (New York: Harper-Collins, 1991), p. 301.

6. Harrison, pp. 1049–50; Quinn, p. 506.

7. John Carl Miller, ed., *John Henry Ingram's Poe Collection at the University of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1960), p. 172.

8. Poe, *Poems*, p. 561.

9. Thomas and Jackson, *Poe Log*, p. 628.

10. Silverman, *Edgar A. Poe*, p. 301.

11. I am grateful to the descendants of Robert D'Unger, especially to John Breckenridge Warfield of Middletown, Maryland, and Mrs. John Warmenhoven of Herndon, Virginia, for furnishing me a copy of the unpublished "D'Unger Family History" prepared by Claude Vachel D'Unger (son of Dr. Robert D'Unger) and updated by Robert Mace D'Unger and John Breckenridge Warfield. Unless otherwise indicated, information on Robert D'Unger and his family is drawn from this document.

12. Henri D'Unger's name does not, in fact, appear on the list of passengers on the *Victoire*. For several reasons, principally as a stratagem to avoid difficulties with authorities when attempting to leave France, the list does not accurately identify all those persons who accompanied Lafayette. See Louis R. Gottschalk, *Lafayette Comes to America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), pp. 163–65; and Stanley J. Idzerda, ed., *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution*, (5 vols.; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 1:17–19.

13. There being no official birth records kept by the state of Maryland until late in the century, the date of Robert D'Unger's birth is uncertain. "D'Unger Family History," p. 3, and Robert D'Unger, Great Grandfather Tales (n.p.: Warfield Limited Partnership, 1979), p. 7, give it as 8 December 1825; but the official certificate of his death at Postgraduate Hospital in Chicago on 30 January 1908 reports his age as eighty-three years, one month, and twenty-two days, making his birth date 8 December 1824.

14. There is some uncertainty about the authenticity of degrees from the Eclectic Medical College. According to Harold J. Abrahams, *Extinct Medical Schools of Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966), p. 232, the Eclectic Medical College had a stormy and controversial history. *The Medical and Surgical Register of the United States and Canada* (Detroit and Chicago, 1898), p. 145, cautioned that the names of "physicians . . . represented as being its graduates, have not been verified" because "no list of the diplomas granted by this college could be obtained."

15. Robert D'Unger, *Dipsomania: Dr. D'Unger's Cinchona Rubra Cure for Drunkenness—Continuous or Periodical* (Chicago: published by the author, 1879), p. 9.

16. If it is assumed that Laura D'Unger remained in Maryland while her husband was in Europe, the birth of her child Claude Vachel on 29 September 1865 suggests that Robert D'Unger returned to this country at least several months before the close of the war.

17. D'Unger, *Dipsomania*, p. 10.

18. Ibid.

19. These sketches first appeared in the Hagerstown *Globe* in the 1920s and are reprinted in *Great Grandfather Tales*.

20. "Another Inventor of the Telephone," *The Electrical Engineer*, 17 (20 June 1894): 541.

21. D'Unger, *Dipsomania*, p. 8.

22. A number of prominent individuals attended the ceremonies in Charlottesville, and still others who were invited but did not attend submitted letters expressing "their acknowledgments and regrets, coupled with their estimates of the poet's genius" See "Poe Memorial Exercises," University of Virginia *Alumni Bulletin*, 6 (November 1899): 65–74. The question of the genesis of D'Unger's letter to Reynolds would be answered if the Chicago physician either had attended or had written to the Memorial Association at the University, but there is no record of his having been involved in any way. Correspondence relating to the celebration in Charlottesville is among the papers of Charles W. Kent in the Special Collections Department of the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia.

23. John B. Warfield, great grandson of Dr. Robert D'Unger, has helpfully suggested to me that D'Unger's relatives living in Baltimore at the close of the century, especially his brother-in-law Dr. Samuel Aloysius Keene, probably were aware of his connection with Poe and may have passed on to him reports of the Charlottesville ceremonies that appeared in the Baltimore and Washington newspapers.

24. Thomas and Jackson, *Poe Log*, p. 634.

25. Ibid., p. 703.

26. Ibid., pp. 744, 760.

27. Ibid., pp. 783, 817.

28. Ibid., p. 817.

29. Ibid., p. 818.

30. Thomas Ollive Mabbott, "Letters from Mary E. Hewitt to Poe," *A Christmas Book from the Department of English, Hunter College of the City of New York*, ed. Blanche Colton Williams (New York: Comet Press, 1937), pp. 116, 120.

31. George E. Woodberry, *Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1885), p. 124.

32. Poe reviewed *Undine* in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* in September 1839 and discussed it again in his *Marginalia* in December 1844.

33. I am grateful to the authorities in the Special Collections Department of the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia for permission to quote this letter in its entirety. And I am especially grateful to Mary Markey, Museum Reference Center Supervisor of the Baltimore City Life Museums, for her generous assistance in piloting me through the geography of mid-nineteenth-century Baltimore.

34. John N. Millington, "printer," is in *Matchett's* Baltimore directories for 1845, for 1847–1848, and for 1849–1850. No city directory was published for 1846.

35. The directories for 1845 and 1847–48 locate John Guy's "Monument House" at 13 or 13 and 15 north Calvert Street. The 1849–50 directory locates it at the northeast corner of Fayette and Calvert Streets.

36. "California Pop" remains unidentified. Perhaps it was a version of the San Francisco "steam beer" consumed in quantity by Frank Norris's McTeague.

37. Although Mabbott (Poe, *Poems*, p. 563) claimed to have found John Wills "a minor journalist" in "the directories," I find no John Wills in the 1845 directory. Of the two individuals bearing that name in 1847–48 and 1849–50, one was a "plaisterer" and the other a "cabinet maker."

38. John C. Gobright, *The Monumental City, or Baltimore Guide Book* (Baltimore: Gobright & Torsch, 1858), p. 97, locates the "Western Hotel" at the corner of Howard and Saratoga Streets. No establishment at this location is listed in the directories for 1845 and 1847–48. Under "Tavern and Oyster House Keepers," the 1849–50 directory identifies the "Golden Horse," kept by Daniel McCoy, at the northwest corner of Howard and Franklin Streets, a few blocks from Howard and Saratoga.

39. The directories for 1845 and 1847–48 indicate a "bottling cellar" or "bottling establishment" operated by John Guy on South Street.

40. In *Dipsomania* p. 3, D'Unger distinguishes "two kinds of drunkenness, continuous and periodical."

41. According to Gobright, p. 132, an engine and hose company named "Mechanical" was located on Calvert Street near West Baltimore Street.

42. The directories for 1847–48 and 1849–50 list a Miss Mary Nelson at "1 Tripolet's alley"; her address in the 1845 directory is 317 South Charles Street. The only Mary Nelson in the 1842 directory is Mary Ann Nelson, "seamstress, e side Potter st s of Low."

43. The 1845 directory identifies "Tripolet's al." as running "from Baltimore to Second st., betw. Gay and South sts."

44. Ten William Smiths appear in the city directory in 1837, eight in 1842, and nine in 1845. A likely candidate for Poe's alleged companion would seem to be a William Smith, "letter cutter, 265 N. Gay st.," in the the 1845 directory. There is a "William M. Smith" in the 1849–50 directory identified as a "printer" residing at 72 French Street.

45. Although D'Unger's spelling of the surname is unmistakably "Bouldin," the name in the directories for 1837, 1842, and 1845 is both "Boulden" and "Bouldin," the spelling sometimes varying for the same family in different directories. In the absence of additional evidence, there is no way to identify the specific family to which "Leonora" belonged.

46. D'Unger sent his "correction" to the Baltimore *American* very likely in response to a comment by Eugene L. Didier included in an article entitled "Edgar Allan Poe. Some Facts of His Life Not Generally Known—The True Story of His Death—The Striking Contrast Between the First and Last Funeral of the Author of the Raven" which was carried by the *American* for 1 October. The *American* appears not to have printed D'Unger's "correction."

Dearest Braddie: Love and War in Maryland, 1860–61 Part 1

ANNA BRADFORD AGLE and SIDNEY HOVEY WANZER, Eds.

Letters of love composed during a time of growing turmoil, Edward Spencer's missives to his sweetheart, Anne Catherine Bradford Harrison, charm like flowers along a busy street. They bloomed in the late winter and spring of 1861, giving evidence not only of a tender courtship but also testifying to conflict between secessionists and Unionists in the border state of Maryland. Spencer's letters to "Braddie" vividly demonstrate how political tension divided dinner tables and tore apart Maryland families.

Edward (1834–1883) wrote his letters from The Martin's Nest, the Spencer home near Randallstown, where he was a farmer when the sun was up and a writer when it went down. Edward's father, Edward Spencer, Sr., had died in 1840, when the boy was six years old. In 1860, then in his late twenties, Edward headed a household that included his mother Guinilda Mummey Spencer; two younger brothers, Robert and Thomas; his mother's brother-in-law, known only as Uncle Tom; and hired hands who worked the fields.

He and Braddie (1841–1882) had met in 1851, when he was an old man of nineteen and she an eleven-year-old girl. Edward had come down from Randallstown to Mount Pleasant in Talbot County, home of his first cousin, Emily Spencer Harrison. There he met Braddie, Emily's half-sister, whom Emily had taken in after a succession of family losses. Braddie and Emily's father, Alexander Bradford Harrison, had died in Braddie's infancy; Braddie's mother, Catherine Townsend Harrison, had died when the child was six.

Spencer stayed with the Harrison family for a year while his uncle, the Rev. Joseph Spencer, rector of nearby St. Michael's Episcopal Church, prepared him for Princeton. Edward and Braddie became close friends. Together they walked to town and back—she to school, he to Uncle Joe's. They fished and crabbed in Broad Creek, talking back and forth, stopping to watch formations of geese fly overhead. They hunted for stones and shells, picked flowers, and saved seeds for next year's

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Anna Bradford Agle, granddaughter of Edward Spencer, lives in Sykesville. She has written *A Promise Is to Keep: The True Story of a Former Slave and the Family She Adopted* (Zondervan, 1985). Dr. Sidney Hovey Wanzer, Spencer's great-grandson, serves as a physician with the Harvard University Health System.

garden. When the year came to an end, the two parted, Edward off to college, Braddie off to boarding school.

They did not see one another for eight years. At Princeton Edward proved himself an apt pupil in Greek, German, Latin, French, history, mathematics, science, literature, philosophy, and writing—especially writing. He kept a journal to which he confided some of his sinful distractions (they later haunted him) but also his fond memories of the year spent at Cousin Em's. Poems and journal entries made clear that, while he never wrote to Braddie, he continued to think of her.

Then one day in 1860, at a Baltimore County political meeting, he overhead a stranger extolling the virtues of Talbot County's charming Miss Bradford Harrison. Never a man to take important news second hand, Edward travelled by coach to Baltimore and by boat to St. Michaels to see "Miss Harrison" again with his own black, soulful eyes. He later described the meeting in verse:

> She came down the street, and I vow that her bonnet
> Deserved all a lover's invectives upon it,
> For 'twas so much enveloped in ribbons and lace
> One sought all in vain for a glimpse of her face.
>
> She came down the street, the centre of three—
> What would you have done, had you only been me?
> Have passed her, or kissed her, or dropped on your knees?
> I give you my word, sir, I did none of these.
>
> There were frogs in my throat, but I held out my hand—
> The veil hid her eyes—she said a word—and
> Then I bowed and moved on, and on she went, too—
> She labelled me "Mister"—I called her "You."
>
> But oh! the new friend thus made on the street
> Is all I have dreamed of, and ten times more sweet;
> She has showered upon me the wealth of her grace,
> And I see my own heart when I look in her face!

After that heartfelt reunion Edward and Braddie rapidly transformed their childhood friendship into an ardent adult courtship, conducted principally by letter.

Excerpts below and in succeeding issues of the magazine draw on forty-nine out of the more than one hundred surviving Spencer-Harrison letters, which—along with Spencer's plays, stories, poetry, notebooks, and newspaper pieces—the editors have deposited in the manuscripts collection of the Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University. All of Spencer's works were collected by his grandson [Gelbert Spencer Alleman], who for many years taught literature at Rutgers University. Except for one letter, all the surviving Braddie correspondence originated with Edward, so that, sadly enough, the only way we know what Braddie said and felt is by reading closely Edward's comments on her messages to him. Though written in clear script, Edward's letters occasionally lacked a date. Selec-

tions from them appear below in chronological order as best the editors can determine it. Ellipses mark words or passages omitted here for the sake of brevity and readability. Transcriptions follow guideliness established in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*'s fall 1987 issue, p. 241.

When the drama opens, Abraham Lincoln has won election to the presidency and South Carolina debates secession. Spencer, who relies on hired help but staunchly supports Southern rights, describes bleak but exciting times in Baltimore County. Braddie owns her own personal servant, Eliza Benson, as a bequest from her father. Apparently undecided on the secession question, she still lives with her slaveowning half-sister Emily Spencer Harrison and her husband, William H. Harrison, who, as it turns out, strongly favor maintaining the old Union.

At Home—Dec 13th night [1860]

My own darling forever—

. . . By today's paper I see they have had a very destructive fire in Baltimore—among others, Waters' bookstore is burnt out. This puts back some orders I had sent him for French & English books, which were just received he wrote me & doubtless were nicely burnt. I shall have to wait longer & may not get them in time for my Farmer's wife.

From all accounts this is going to be a winter of great suffering. Failures are only beginning—and corn is down to almost nothing for profits. Bob [Edward's brother] refused 3$ a barrel for some last week, very foolishly, and we will have to sell a portion at 2.75$. It will be high enough next May, however, for the crop is very light through all this country. . . .

South Carolina seceded a week later, and the lower South followed early in 1861. On 2 February a pro-Southern gathering at the Maryland Institute of Art in Baltimore proposed "a convention representing the voters of Maryland, to ascertain the wishes of the people of this State in relation to the present condition of national affairs." In the letter below Spencer refers to an election-district gathering that answered the call in Randallstown on 12 February. The county convention met in Towsontown two days later. At that meeting, consisting of five men from each of the county's thirteen districts, delegates who had been "elected without reference to political or party distinction" (Spencer among them) adopted resolutions "expressive of attachment and devotion to the Union. . . [but] antagonistic to coercion; expressive of a hope that the present difficulties may be honorably settled, and censuring Governor Hicks for his unwillingness to afford the people of the State, through a convention called by the Legislature, an opportunity to express their wishes" (Baltimore Sun, *14 and 15 February 1861). The resolutions passed, and fourteen "gentlemen," Edward Spencer among them, were elected to represent Baltimore County at the state convention that met in Baltimore 18 February. The delegates, most Breckinridge Democrats, declared the pressing need for state action and adjourned until 12 March, hoping thereby to force Governor Hicks into action (*Sun *18 and 20 February 1861).*

Tuesday night, Feby 12th [1861]

My own dearest Braddie

Many and heartfelt greetings, all my love, and all the best wishes my soul can imagine I waft to you upon this your birthday! Twenty years old today. Out of your "teens" already, honey, and when I first knew and loved you, you had not entered them! Strange revolutions of Time's wheel —how little guessed I a year ago that such bliss, comfort and reward was in store for me—that I was to be enriched and made happy with the pure love and unbounded devotion of her for whom my boyhood had felt such passion! Tis more than I deserve, beloved—far far more than the life I have led since '52 could have taught me to anticipate. May our good Father in Heaven make me humbly sensible of his beneficent kindness and bring me finally to deserve fully the mercy and loving kindness He has lavished upon me! A prayer, my own Braddie, which is earnestly and sincerely meant.

Let me pray also that I may be able always to make you supremely happy, and that the chief blessing to me of our union may be your sunny perfection in all good things in joy, health, love, comfort and material advantages during three times twenty years of our wedded life and love. Beloved Braddie, God sparing us, your next birthday will come to you my own darling *wife*—I will kiss you, in congratulation, in our own home, by our very own hearth, and when this hour of your birthright has come, you will be peacefully slumbering by my side and in my arms, my darling bride and wife forever! Yes, my *bride*—for our honeymoon shall have no trimestrial limit, honey—I intend to have you always for my *bride*—to court you forever . . . finding ever in you some pleasant new charm, and ever revealing to you some new phase of my great and ever increasing love in you. . . .

Honey, this has been quite a busy day with me, and, in spite of weakness and my utter inability to eat a mouthful at dinner or breakfast, I did this afternoon the work of ten men. No wonder I am fatigued, for I have labored hard, and, thinking how proud my own darling would be, have really taken a step forward, in the county and won myself respect and applause where they had been previously denied me. Shall I be my own historian? As I wrote you, we are to have a County Convention on Thursday, and our primary meeting to choose delegates was called for this afternoon. Sunday and yesterday I sent letters round, urging a large attendance & last night I drafted a set of resolutions to present to the meeting. Today at 2 p.m. I drove Uncle Tom out to RandallsT. Roads AWFUL—a foot deep on an average all the way & in many places up to the hub. Crooks was crowded, and, as I saw on arriving, conventionists were in a minority. Nevertheless, I set to work, wire-pulling, whispering & arranging industriously. At 3 I called the meeting to order (modest man as I am), nominated the officers & got matters in train. On my motion we proceeded to ballot for 5 delegates. I electioneered and *voted for myself* (fearing a tight contest) and, on counting the poll, found that not only was I chosen delegate, not only *chairman* of the delegation, but also that I *alone* was *unanimously* elected! An unexpected compliment, I do assure you, and I felt proud. My motion for a Committee on Resolutions was responded to by putting me on the Committee, *my* resolutions were adopted and I had to report them to the meeting. Then came the

tug of war! I had come out almost for Secession, condemning Gov. Hicks—anti-coercion—Southern, etc., and they met with a hard reception. I read those resolutions over *eleven* times—made three speeches—argued—wrangled—explained—lied—got eloquent—got pitched into—but kept my temper through all—and at last triumphed, the resolution, slightly amended, having finally been passed by a large majority. The proceedings of the meeting are to be published in our Co. paper & the Sun & I'll send you a copy. I was on my feet four hours, talking & working hard all the time, and I can say truthfully that but for my single efforts, the result of the meeting would have been anti-convention and in support of Hicks. I made a right good speech—nor is this all—I prevented secession from the meeting—I have forever broken up the K.N. [Know-Nothing] majority in our dist. I convinced many obstinate opponents to my views, getting their votes—and I shall henceforth stand A.1. among the democrats of the district—no longer follower but leader. Moreover, I *kept Uncle Tom sober*, hard task as it was. Of course, this is full of I's, but, it is permissible to glorify one's self to an *alter ego*, and then, my pet, I have really done very much, and against odds such as would have frightened almost any one in the world, but only another incentive to me. I came home hoarse, pale, scarce able to stand, so much was I fagged out by the various excitements of the day, but I feel much better now, having had a good meal, a drink of whiskey & a cup of nice coffee. It was enough to break me down, speaking, wire-pulling, electioneering & having to deal with fools who tried my temper by stpidity, obstinate fools, and fools who insulted me—but I had made up my mind to & succeeded perfectly in keeping cool throughout all. If Md goes out of the Union history will not do me justice without she says I gave *some* aid to the movement. I will go to the Towsontown Convention on Thursday and *want* to be elected to the *State* Convention—but that is an honor scarcely possible when we have so many men more prominent than I am who wish to go. I shall not get myself nominated unless I see a chance of being elected. If I *am* elected, I intend to get rid of my sheepishness, prepare a careful speech and deliver it. If I can do *that*, I will astonish a good many people who think they know me. Confound this tripping tongue of mine! Tis rather hard to *feel* yourself competent to make your mark high up on the wall—to propose useful measures—and yet to be shut out by a petty bashfulness and hesitation. If I only had the brass of some people, I could make my fortune at the bar and rostrum. But enough of this—you already think me vain to excess—what will my mentor say *now*?

Precious, I had a nice letter from the Count [Webster Lindsly, Edward's best friend, then in Washington] today. . . . He says "I am glad to hear your visit to the E.S. [Eastern Shore] was such a pleasant one. You are in luck, old fellow, and this Engagement of yours I look upon as about the most sensible act of your life. If Miss H. don't make a man of you, I'm afraid we shall have to give it up as a bad job." He wishes me to pay him a visit, to be present at Lincoln's inauguration. "It will be an interesting occasion" he says—that infamous cur!—"and I think I can guarrantee your safety, as old Scott has more flying artillery here than he had with him during the Mexican War. Do come, if only for two or three days. We have all been badly frightened here, but have gotten bravely over it. If the Gulf States want

to go to the devil (excuse him), so be it. *One thing is certain* (read this to Cousin Bill) *Washington is not going to be sacked & burned at present* pas de tout, mon ami *('not by any means'). Another thing: Maryland can't get out of the Union, and the sooner the good people of the State realize that fact, the better it will be for them. Lincoln will be inaugurated here, and the Republicans intend to hold this town for the next four years, even if it costs the life of every man, woman and child in Maryland"!*

A self-styled peace convention of elder moderates from North and South had met in Washington beginning on 4 February, but in succeeding weeks it failed to agree on a compromise plan to save the Union. President-elect Lincoln secretly passed through Baltimore the night of 22–23 February. On Monday, 4 March, protesting in his inaugural address that he had "no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists," Lincoln assumed the presidency.

At home. Sunday night. Mar 3rd [1861]

My own darling.

I have been planning to give myself this pleasure of a long old fashioned letter to you by this mail, but company last night & all day to-day have robbed me cruelly of my time. How do you think I spent this morning? Indeed I *wanted* to go to Church (the first time for many years in which I have really earnestly desired to hear a sermon) but could not. Bob has been to see Rarey & insisted upon breaking a colt & a stubborn mule. I demurred earnestly, but he would, so Uncle Tom & I went to see that no harm was done. Luckily, for I saved Mother's carriage. The colt kicked a sulky all to pieces, threw C.R. (one of our guests) out, and jumped clear over my head, sulky & all. Had I let them have the carriage two lives might have been lost. I was not touched, but the boys say I looked a little pale after it was all over. Perhaps. I had a keen consciousness that the Sabbath was being desecrated, & shall give Bob a talking. We must have no more such sports hereafter, I am determined.

Honey, the times are awful, and I am fearful that very many persons do not appreciate them properly. We are on the brink of civil war, and I see no possible means of averting it. The Peace Congress has failed, Congress does nothing, & before May, Maryland & Virginia will *certainly* be out of the Union. This means war, for the Republicans are determined to hold Washington, at all hazards. I had the opportunity, while in Washington, of conversing with & learning the views of very many prominent men of that party, and it is their universal resolve to coerce Maryland. Until now, I have thought it possible to save the Union, but now, I am a positive, unconditional Secessionist. Md will go out, and, if there is war, I must and shall take part in it—not for the sake of distinction, but for the South. We will have a terrible time, much blood will be shed, but the South will conquer—unless the negroes are roused against us. Our Convention meets next week, & soon after, the State will be thoroughly canvassed upon this issue. If it can help the cause, I shall take the stump myself. I find that during the past few days, there has been a complete revolution in public opinion, and the first Union men and K.N.s [Know-

Nothings] now come out for Secession. If I am not very much mistaken, we will sweep the State. What does the Captain [Emily Spencer Harrison's husband] say now? Our military organisations are being rapidly forwarded, and before May, Balto. Co will have nearly 500 volunteers armed & uniformed & being drilled for the coming contest. It is an awful prospect to look forward to, especially when one cannot feel that those he loves best will be safe, but, it is forced upon us, and, I for one, go in for fighting it out. . . .

Chez moi. Monday Night—4th [March 1861]

My own darling:

By this time all the world is speculating over "Old Abe's" Inaugural, deciding, resolving—but I can afford to wait until tomorrow morning, for tonight is to be given (till slumber presses) to sweet communion & interchange of thought with the precious treasure of my heart . . .

I did not speak in the Convention, of course. No one spoke. The resolutions were adopted unanimously, & without debate. I was prepared, however (not with a committed speech, of course, but posted for extempore remarks) and, had there been need, could have spoken without timidity. I was not afraid of the audience. Had there been any chance to carry it, I meant to have seconded Pinckney Whyte's motion for a committee to Gov. Hicks, but there was no use. The *work* in such bodies is not done by speaking, but by going from man to man & talking. I didn't do any outside work, but I won the respect of our delegation, composed of the best men in our whole county, and hereafter, when I want to be heard, they will listen to me. Whenever the time comes for me to speak, I will do it, and I will do so worthily, coward and faineant though I be. Give me a large enough occasion, and I ask no more. . . .

I am eager for an opportunity to "pitch into" Gov. Hicks, and I can say some things that will not be palatable to him, as I happen to be better posted with regard to him than most persons. I intend to take a large part in this Secession movement, as soon as it is fairly inaugurated. We will have large odds to contend against—a republican party is being built up in our midst & they can command a million dollars tomorrow to help defeat us. This I *know*. Ask Cousin Bill [Emily Spencer Harrison's husband] what he thinks of [Maryland's mercurial Congressman Henry Winter] Davis *now*. Ask him if he knows that Jim Partridge, Hicks' Private Secretary, is a prominent candidate for the Balto. Custom House—that one fourth of his party are avowed Republicans already—and that it is the declared purpose of all the Republicans in Washington to keep Md in the Union, even if, as Salmon P. Chase [Lincoln's secretary of the treasury] himself says "it costs the lives of every man, woman & child in the state"? Ask him if he knows that the Republicans (if Md stays in) will vote 75 votes in this district next fall, and will be strong enough, in the next Constitutional Convention of the State to make the issue of immediate Emancipation? *All* of our leading men, irrespective of party, have during the past week avowed themselves for Secession. Even James L. Ridgely, the bitterest opponent of Democracy, the oldest Whig, the faithfullest K.N. [Know-Nothing] told me on Saturday (I confess it surprised me) that the time for Secession had come, & he

would take the stump, feeble as he is, if we inaugurate it. His *name* alone is worth 500 votes to the cause. . . .

Home—Thursday—in the rain

My own darling,

. . . Mother bustling everywhere and complaining much about her turkies and chickens—with which she has had unusually bad luck. She is a greater Secessionist than ever—a regular fire-eater—and won't even *talk* with Union people. . . .

Home Mar. 8th 1861

My own darling,

. . . Darling, I intended to have written you a long letter by this mail, but I have been too busy, electioneering to elect one of my friends a director of our turnpike company. The place was offered to me, but it promised to be too troublesome, and I declined. I was successful in putting our ticket through however, at the meeting yesterday—but, when I got home last night was too fatigued to write. Mother is in town, I hope enjoying herself, while Uncle Tom and we boys are keeping Bachelor's Hall together, an arrangement I never did like. Honey, woman is the genius of order in a household, and somehow things never go right unless she is present.

I am going to town on Monday to our Convention, and very probably will remain there during the week. I forbid my pet to feel the least uneasiness about me, for I make her the explicit promise under *no* circumstances to taste a drop of liquor. I may not be able to write while there—the facilities are very bad for such work, especially with one so particular as I am, but if I have the chance you shall hear from me, and if you do not, you must not be worried. I shall be hard at work for old Maryland, and shall do my part towards saving her honor from the abolition coil in which we are all involved. I don't expect to speak, but if I do anything worthily you shall be sure to hear of it, if not through the papers, at least through me. I like my darling's praises, and, ambitious as I am, your approval is sweeter to me than the applause of all the world.

What you quoted me from your brother John's letter gave me exceeding pleasure, my darling. It is marked by so much affection, and is so entirely *brotherly*. I ought to be proud of the approval of such a man, and I hope I am. My darling, he cannot set greater store by your happiness than I do. . . . Thank your good brother for me when you write, and assure him that I can appreciate fully the meaning of what he says. Poor fellow, he must be desolate indeed, a man of feelings so tender and high-strung. Can he find it in his heart to part from his little ones? I do not think I could do it under the same circumstances, no matter how clearly I saw it would be to their advantage. You must make your letters good and cheerful company to him, honey "angels visits," *not* "few and far between." He deserves it of you. As soon as he answers my letter, I will write to him, and frequently. I cannot well do it before that.

I suppose you are down at Long Point now, and you and Sue are enjoying yourselves amazingly, having all sorts of famous chats, &c. . . . If this finds you still there you must give my best love to all the folks & especially Sue & Aunt Susan.

Your affectionate Edward

On 13 March the pro-secessionist convention adjourned after naming six Marylanders to observe the Virginia convention then in session in Richmond. The delegates denounced Governor Hicks as out of touch with Maryland's true sentiment.

[17 March 1861]

So you are glad the Convention has made a fiasco, eh? Look out, Miss, it is not all over yet. We have not adjourned *sine die*, and are ready for any emergency. Our program was a pretty shrewd one, and if Virginia had only have acted we were ready to waken up old Maryland in a style that would have startled the natives. I do not think however that Md will secede now—unless Lincoln & co make sublime asses of themselves by initiating a war policy. It is all a scramble now for the spoils, and the American [or Know-Nothing] party are making desperate efforts to get control of the Balto Post Office and Custom House. If they fail, the Secession ranks will be largely augmented. Our party is largely in the minority, but I am convinced that time will prove us to have the right view of matters. If Maryland stays in, she will be abolitionized in less than four years—and what will then become of Cousin Bill's slaves, while the Southern Confederacy tax them 30 per cent? My maxim is that of Washington—in time of peace prepare for war—and it will be too late for the Border States to attempt revolution when Lincoln is firm in power, and no concessions are to be made. I dont care much—it will benefit me rather than injure for Md to be a free state. But I was contending for a principle & against the Federal tendencies & "strong government" notions of an aggressive party, cursed with ideas that cannot be safely put in practice. If these ideas are to prevail, the South will be converted into another St. Domingo. I feel sure that the Republicans are not willing to concede us anything, & I feel equally sure that when the Border States find this out, it will be too late for them to act, without terrible bloodshed & desolation. Ask Cousin Bill what will he do if war begins at [Fort] Pickens [at Pensacola, Florida] by an attempt to reinforce —if Jeff. Davis marches on Washington—and Gov. Hicks orders his company to the defence of the Capital? Will he go? Will he fight against slaveholders—his own people—to defend [abolitionist senators] Chandler-Hale-Sumner and that extenuated mountebank who winks through his leering mask in the White House? It is an emergency that must be contemplated, for it may occur at any moment. I would not, could not fight against the Union while a citizen of it, but neither could I fight against those who are my own brethren by every affinity of life and feeling. But, its Sunday, and you'll suspect me of trying to convert you to the creed of Secession as received by our party. . . .

In my nest—Saturday night

. . . Sweetheart, we have had a famous concert tonight in the dining room, Mother, Uncle Tom and I. We caught Bob humming "Dixie" (preserve me from it!)—it is one of Emma's favorites—and so we all sang to console him. Poor boy, he's in for it, very deep. Such singing! Snatches of old serenades, operas, hymns. . . . Twould have done your heart good, no matter how much your ears might have suffered.

Saturday night

. . . I have been thinking about you all this day, wondering why you did not write, and planning over that yearned-for visit which I am so intensely eager to pay you—yet which I dread so much. My darling, you must be candid with me in this matter, as you are in other things. Please do not let your eagerness to see me prevent you from telling me exactly what I shall have to expect, and, if you know of any impediment to my coming, do not shrink from giving me due notice. If there is any doubt in your mind, I would prefer you to come right out and *ask* Cousin Em *for me*, in order that there may be no possibility of mistake. It is not the scoldings, or abuse, or Union-shrieking that I fear. I can retaliate these, or laugh at, or dodge them. But I *do* fear being made to feel that I am an unwelcome guest, an intruder, who has no business there, and the sooner he goes the better. Honey, I couldn't stand that, even for the sake of being with you; and if, when I do come, I shall be so unfortunate as to meet with such treatment, you may rest assured I will never put foot over that threshold again. . . .

Aus mein Heimlichkeit. Thursday, [28 March 1861]

My Braddie

. . . Darling, I am better—my breast still gives me a good deal of pain, but does not worry me near so much as it did last week—I am getting used to it, and scarce notice it save when a sharper stitch than usual makes me grimace involuntarily. Then, on goes the liniment till a proper redness is obtained and the outside smart counteracts the internal soreness & ache. I walk two or three miles every day, and make the dumb-bells clink loudly, so you may be sure I am taking good care of your property, and hope to surrender it into your charge in as good a condition as possible—"sound, without blemish, and warranted for twelve months."

Susie Constable came up yesterday, to spend Easter with us. She is plump & fat as a butter ball and very pretty. Havn't I been hugging & kissing her, though, and telling her I wish she was only Braddie. She takes it all very kindly—but it is only *soup maigre* for me—spoon meat when I want roast beef. Will you have plenty of it for me when I come? . . .

I have been writing a little something this week—but not much—a piece or two for Brother Reese, & a paper for Fritz Weishampel. I am not in the vein—indeed I never could write well in early spring. June & July are my best months for production, and I can generally do better during the hot weather than at any other time. I must get to work before long however, or I shall not be able to accomplish the tasks I have planned. I see that some books are beginning to be published again, though, as far as I can learn, the literary stagnation of today is more extreme than at any other period in our *whole* history—not excepting even the era of the Revolution. And so indeed it is with all branches of trade. No one has any idea of the distress in Baltimore. There are 8000 persons unemployed, and as many more working on half-time. If there should occur any disturbance it will be awful, for men become fiends when bread is lacking. Yet, "nobody's hurt" says that infamous clown of the White House, anchored in Washington like a black & white buoy to

warn people off from hope & reasonable expectation. It makes me savage when I think we have fallen so low as to have such a man for President. Buchanan was poor honey enough, to be sure—but he was a gentleman, not a Polcinello. . . .

On 19 April a pro-Southern mob attacked Massachusetts troops making their way between President Street and Camden Street railroad stations in Baltimore. Troops under Gen. Benjamin F. Butler begam landing at Annapolis 20 April and seized the B&O Railroad junction at Relay House early on the 25th.

Sunday night [28 April 1861]

Honey—Everybody has gone to bed, the rain is busily gurgling down the rainspouts without, and I turn from my reading to finish the letter which I fancied I would not have a chance to add more to. I have heard bad news tonight: The Relay House has been siezed & thus the supplies of Balto by the B&O R.R. will be cut off. And Balto is to lose one of her best citizens, Joe Spencer, who yields to the annihilation of business here brought on us by the Submissionists & "Union" party—and removes to Richmond. He is but one in 5000 of the *best* citizens of Balto who are going—so it will be all over the State. God help us, yielding up all our "pleasant places" to the Yankees. What'll Cousin Bill take for his negroes now? Oh if I can only live to see the remorse of these men who have brought ruin upon themselves and us!

I expect Lindsly in town tomorrow—he has some business here, but it is uncertain, as there is no telling what tomorrow may bring. You can have no idea, darling, of the terrible threats breathed out against Balto. by Northern people. The papers here, especially the American, dare not publish them. I have seen many private letters & they all advise our citizens to flee, pretty much as Lot was urged to leave Sodom. The treatment promised us is worse than any Chinese or Sepoy vengeance, and is enough to make one incredulous of the influences of civilization. John Brown jr is drilling negroes near the Penna. line. Lieut. Morris defies Judge Giles from Ft. McHenry & U.S. vessels run down innocent trading steamers in our waters. So it goes. We "*have* a government," it seems, after all. Oh how it makes my heart ache & my brain burn. . . .

Take the best care of yourself, my beloved, and be well & happy. Bad as these times are they cannot come between us and our love, our happiness. Let us wait & trust, my darling, and "Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree; and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree." Goodnight, goodbye & pleasant dreams, my *most* beloved.

Ever affectionately, your own Edward

On 27 April President Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus along the military line of communication between Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia. In Baltimore the following week, on 2 May, a convention met to discuss organizing a party around loyalty to the Union.

Aunt C's Baltimore, May 5th 1861

My own darling,

. . . I [am] terribly low-spirited, partly over my ruined prospects, but still more over the hideous dishonor & degradation of our State. Honey the enemy have us in their toils, yet they could not prevail against us were we only true to ourselves. Oh it makes my heart ache to think that a few office-seekers & designing politicians, backed by men made blind, deaf, dumb by party prejudice, should have succeeded so completely in achieving our ruin, dishonor, & disgrace. I cannot speak nor think of it with patience. We have been sold, and for less & more disgracefully than Judas sold his Master. Baltimore is ruined forever—the grass will grow in her streets. Lincoln himself said he only wanted three weeks to conquer Maryland, and, alas for human nature, he has done it in less time even. I don't care what comes, now. I shall go forth whenever I can sell out to advantage, & meantime, I shall stay at home how I can. You and I will live as quietly as Yankee insolence and intrusion will permit & you'll teach me to forget that the State I love & yearned to fight for has refused the honorable and glorious gaze of battle. But enough of this painful theme.

Bob is in town—like me downcast by a sense of almost personal dishonor. He volunteered with 15 others for the desperate service of entering the Pennsylvanian camp as spy & would have done the cause excellent service had there been a fight.

Mother comes to the city tomorrow, and I shall go out home on Tuesday, unless there shall meantime happen something requiring my presence here. We are much better armed than people think, & in 24 hours can get 10000 minie muskets from a private depot near by. Oh for another blow to rouse the people. Baltimore is to be occupied very shortly—meantime, the Fort [McHenry] is a standing menace that not only blockades our harbor, but insolently sets our laws at defiance, refusing the writ of Habeas Corpus. Yet Cousin Bill's chief objection to Jeff. Davis was the *military despotism* to be inaugurated by him—when Lincoln sets the Constitution at nought, supersedes our most valuable prerogatives as a free people and deliberately gives the lie to his own express pledges in his inaugural—while Davis has expressly abstained from even issuing letters of marque, because that power was not delegated to him by the Confederacy! A great number of persons have left the city—business stands still & hope seems departed. Dr. Bordley has broken up housekeeping here and takes his family to Q. Annes this week. Every one is packed up, ready for a hasty move. We are already like a conquered people & the north talks loudly of confiscations & hanging of traitors. . . .

I am glad your mind is at ease about [Braddie's] Bro John. His poverty is not probably greater than that of others just now. Starvation impends over very many who were well to do a year ago, and I do not see how any one can escape real suffering, if the present condition of things lasts much longer. You must not expect to hear from John again for a long time as all communication southward is broken off indefinitely & may be for years, until we are conquered or—conquer.

I am very poor myself & must get at something, unless we can spur Md up to the fighting point, which I fear cannot be done, the dastard's argument (& it is naught

else) is so strong. If the *women* could vote, Balto. would go largely for Secession. I have had a notion of going to Annapolis as corresp. of the press, but martial law prevails there and I would not be safe. I cannot say yet what I shall do & I may just quietly fix myself at home. I do not know when you will hear from me again, honey, my movements being so uncertain & governed by so many contingencies. I am a revolutionist & traitor & of course have no stable hold here. But I will write as often as I can and you must never be uneasy about me until you know that I am in positive danger. . . .

Do take care of yourself, Braddie, and get rid of that cough. I cannot tell you how it shocked me, prostrated me when I first heard it. With proper care, exercise, & a little tonic medicine now and then, brandy toddy every day etc, you will feel like another woman in a month. You *must* get well, darling, for I couldn't stand it. I'd drink myself to death in less than a month. That is just the whole truth of the matter. . . .

Butler's troops seized and began fortifying Federal Hill in Baltimore early on 13 May.

Home. Thursday 16th May 61

My own darling

Yes, I am home at last. The rebel, conspirator and traitor has returned to the shelter of his own roof tree, which is (as yet) inviolate, and with the green lovely face of nature spread soothingly within reach of his eye, and his ears cheered by the pleasant rustle of the young leaves in the May gala, sits down to write to his own Sweet love. . . .

I left town Tuesday night, *on foot*, having missed the omnibus, & being *forced* to go, to keep out of jail. I saw enough of the outrageous occupation of B. & of the infamous disregard of property & person on the part of our masters to provoke me beyond reason. I was nearly crazy, was four times arrested, & at last told by Marshall Kane [chief of the Balitmore police force, himself later arrested] to leave town forthwith under penalty of being committed for Court. I bade the folks goodbye and started on foot, walking three miles & spending the night at a country tavern. Thence I travelled home, starting next morning early, in company with three volunteers for Harper's Ferry who had lost their comrades, and were without money, but had nevertheless resolved to walk to Liberty, 45 miles. I took them to McHenry, my neighbor, & made him provide them with money & breakfast. I was very tired when I got home & am pretty sore and stiff yet, but more sick in soul than body. Honey, we of Maryland, thanks to the "masterly inactivity" of the "Submissionists" (may they be rewarded according to their deserts!) are about to undergo all the bitter & humiliating experiences of a *conquered people*. That is our precise status. We are to be subject to arrest, confiscation & every indignity. Every provocation is to be hurled upon us, and, if we dare revolt, because there is a limit to human endurance, we are to be swept from the face of earth, by murders, ravishings and fire. The troops quartered in B. are the merest rabble, insolent blackguards, the veriest offscourings of cities, jails, and almshouses, amenable to

no laws, no decency. I do not exaggerate. There is *no* protection for us. It is not safe for women to be in Balto. I know of outrages committed by these scoundrels in Washington already, which I cannot repeat to you, & which so fill my soul with bloodthirst that I scarcely know myself. I am *so* glad you are not coming to B. You must not, darling, indeed. These villains may provoke an outbreak at *any* moment, & then B. will be utterly destroyed. But for the police, two companies of them would have been exterminated on Tuesday evening on Pratt Street. I was present, and I *know* that but for the police, not a [one] would have been left to tell the tale. The people were infuriated by the seizure of the city's arms, and the insolent attitude of "Picayune" Butler and his forces. Oh how I wished then for ten thousand good and true men. I would have been that night in Fort McHenry or my grave. And there will be a fight in Baltimore yet—mark the prophecy. Poor old Ross Winans was arrested on Tuesday at the Relay House—an old man near seventy—dragged out of the cars—bail refused—and not one of his friends permitted to speak with him. I should not be surprised if they *hang* him. You ask about Joe Spencer's case. It is hard to say what will be done with him. He has I believe been sent to Washington for trial. He was a little imprudent, so to speak, when every man's mouth is closed perforce, by this military despotism that rests on us like some hideous night-mare, but his chief offence was his undisguised contempt of Butler, whom he refused to recognise as a gentleman—and whom uneasy consciousness of the truth has made extremely sore. He is an overbearing demagogue, a drunkard, and as filthy, foul-mouthed a blackguard as ever lived. This I *know*, upon the authority of gentlemen who are more fortunate than Gov. Hicks, in that their word cannot be impeached. (Hicks, you know, has been proved to have egregiously lied respecting the burning of the bridges [north of Baltimore after the 19 April riot].) The arrest of Mr. Winans is but the beginning. Col. Kane, Wallis, Parkin Scott, Norris, Dallam, John Merryman, &c, are all to be taken & tried for treason. There is no saying where it will end. I dont suppose they will take me (so very fortunate is my insignificance) but, I am not safe. I can, however, always get to Harper's Ferry from here, so long as Frederick is not siezed. They will be within 5 miles of our place, this week, at the U.S. Arsenal—but the Liberty road is still open, and about 200 volunteers are passing up every day, en route for Virginia. Dont be alarmed about me, honey—unless there is a collision in Md. I shall keep very quiet, at home, henceforth—and I am as safe here as any man can be where there is no law. Joe Spencer was refused all bail and was so closely guarded in the hotel, a file of soldiers being all the time in his room, that he went to jail by preference. But the day of reckoning is not far distant, Braddie. These Northern troops are not good soldiers—they have not the spirit, and moreover, are entirely ignorant of the use of weapons. Whenever there is a battle they will be terribly defeated, and then, our time will come. As soon as they begin the retreat through Maryland the people will rise upon them. I know that many are only waiting for the opportunity, and I know that it will come for us, sooner or later. We shall have an awful war, I fear—but the North will receive a merited lesson in their attempt to conquer the South. I am glad that Theodore has awakened to his true position.

The day is not very distant when every Marylander native to the soil will be clamorous for Secession, and in arms in defence of his fireside & his cherished rights.

A word more, ere I quit this frightful theme. Cousin Bill, like too many of his party, has suffered his prejudices against & his blind hatred towards Democracy [i.e., the Democratic party] to deceive him & entirely close his eyes to facts which, once seen, are irresistible. Democrats are thirsty only for spoils—their motto is "rule or ruin"—while his *own* part are all pure, high-minded, immaculate. *Eh bien*!

You remember my showing up St. Michaels office-seekers at the dinner table, one day? The great Mogul Hicks, says he has asked for no office—yet his brother robs the State of 40,000$—his [ ] Purnell gets the Balt. P.O. & he is hard at work in B. now, to renew the Congressional nominaions for Winter Davis and J. M. Harris. Again, Henry Goldsborough, honest, high-minded Henry 9during the six weeks that he has ceased to be a Secessionist) the Union leader of the Senate, the noble, glorious patriot who, at the eleventh hour, abandoned his political associates and rallied to the rescue of his country—*he* wants to go to Congress in Jim Stewart's place. J. B. Kerr—a fat office-Burn lean one—and so it goes on. The "American" wants government advertisements & circulation. Whiteley of the "Clipper" has secured a 2500$ clerkship, and there are over *2000* rowdies in B. trying to be made watchmen & boatmen in the Custom House. Frank Corkran, the new Naval Officer, a Republican, but a gentleman, says his Plug associates are such men that he *cannot* have intercourse with them & must resign unless they are removed. And I *know* that, with some few exceptions, the Union party of Balto. is composed of the rowdy element alone—and that the wealth, intelligence & gentility of the city are almost unanimously on the other side. So in our county. All the representative men are with us. These are *facts* & speak loudly enough. I enclose a scrap [not found] made up of the varied vengeance with which Baltimore has been menaced by the Northern papers.

Night. My darling—Bob has been to the turnpike today & brings the good news that Cousin Joe has been freed & Butler superseded by [Gen. George] Cadwallader, who is anyhow a gentleman. This puts a rather better face upon matters, and here I abandon politics, to discuss with you themes more congenial.

Sweetheart, the country is most lovely just now. I have never felt so acutely its peculiar charms & beauties as now, & never congratulated myself so much upon my escape from the hot, foul, dusty polluted city. I dont want to visit Baltimore again for a long while. As I started on my walk early in the morning yesterday the clear, pearly fresh air was resonant with bird songs and here especially the aspect of things is perfect. Our yard is overgrown with fresh shrubbery—snow balls are blooming in lavish profusion, rose buds just beginning to expand in clusters—peonies, tiger lilies, lilies of the Valley, ragged Robin, Heartease, &c in full bloom. . . .

Do you know, honey, that I came very near not getting this letter of May 3rd at all? I never go to the Balto. P.O. to ask—it was advertised on Tuesday—and I was half inclined not to go for it, suspecting it to be merely a bill. How pleased I was to find a demand indeed—but one upon my warmest affections —and from by

darling sweetheart! I'm right glad you did not come down to see me off that morning, pet—for I felt miserably, as it was, & I'd have broke down, certain. . . . Did Cousin Em say anything about not having bidden me goodbye? She was so very indifferent about it that it cut me to the core. I cannot say when I shall see you again, beloved, for reasons I shall give you presently, but indeed you must never think of *losing* me. You certainly will not, unless I am slain, and you know I am too decidedly a "little fellow" to run *much* risk of that. I am fatalist enough to believe that there is a destiny for me to fulfil, and work cut out for me in this world that "must be did." And, old woman, I am very sure that there are many many happy hours in store for you and me in this wee Martin's Nest, where, living for each other and with each other, we can resolutely close our ears to the world's mad roar of battle. Never despond, my precious—leave that to hypochondriacs. I do too much of it, myself, but I am none the less conscious how utterly foolish it is. I *won't* scold you, but, if you do so again, I'll come over for you post haste, without waiting for that "new suit of clothes" et cetera, which are palpably essential to a man who would get married decently—things apparently hard to come at in these impoverished times. We are *very* poor just now, darling, and I never felt myself so completely out at elbows. Bob has 17000$ owing him in Queen Anne's and yet failed to collect a single cent. It is a hard case indeed, with poor Tom's funeral charges unpaid, too [Edward's younger brother Tom had died of tuberculosis in mid-November 1860]. But, we will ever hope for "better things," and our prospects from the farm this year are very fine indeed—never were better—so, if it comes to the very worst, we'll have enough to eat. It is rather a hard case that I should have to abandon all my literary prospects, after devoting ten years of my life to preparations & study, but still, I am a man, and can turn my hand and brain to something else. And I understand that a rival to Harper's Weekly is about being started in Charleston, backed by a large Capital, upon which I may before long find profitable employment. I shall hope for the best, at any rate,—and I know that I can *do* the work, whenever I shall succeed in getting it. . . .

Review Essays

Managing American Memories

Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century. By John Bodnar. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. Pp. xiii, 296. Illustrations, notes, index. $29.95.)

Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture. By Michael Kammen. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991. Pp. 864. Illustrations, notes, index. $40.)

Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields. By Edward Tabor Linenthal. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991. Pp. xi, 227. Illustrations, notes, index. $29.95)

Until the last few years, historians who wanted to analyze alternative forms of historical thinking, or assess the influence of historical "lessons" and interpretations on subsequent events, characteristically studied the sober texts of their predecessors. Historiography was a flourishing field. There is far less of that now. Instead, historians have shifted to a wider subject, which is less confining, less narrowly professional, and to many readers more exciting. Historians are wandering on the uncharted seas of memory. Four years ago, for example, the *Journal of American History* devoted a special issue to "Memory and American History," not because the editor sent out a call for such articles but because he found himself with several unsolicited contributions that independently addressed problems of recollection and recall. The books before us are another and far more interesting sampling of the current fascination with memory as a force in history.

What has produced this new enthusiasm? One reason must be the recent emergence of specialized academic programs devoted to the management of memory. Called "public history," the new programs teach young historians how to adapt their professional skills to public projects or to the requirements of other non-teaching institutions. Students of public history need to know what makes history memorable and how they can make it serve practical ends.

A more pervasive reason for historians and their readers to want a better grasp of memory may be found, I believe, in the academic zeitgeist today. Postmodern culture rejects the older (and still widely cherished) goal of separating historical knowledge from all of the relativities and subjectivities that characterize human memory. History is no longer perceived as an austere, unbending corrective of memory. It is more often seen as a codification or extension of memory, a precarious product rather than a controlling authority. To learn more about history, therefore, we explore the shapes of memory.

But how protean, how elusive, how paradoxical those shapes are! On one side of its nature memory is passive and stabilizing. It wants fixity. It forges the bonds that tie us to particular places and people. By reinforcing familiar experience, memories accumulate into patterns that define individual and collective identities. On another side, memory can undergo dizzying fluctuations. When rival claimants struggle to possess it, the memories of one faction clash with the amnesia of the others. When memory locks people together, however, it can rouse a tremendous power to make or to resist great changes in the world. If we did not remember experience, we could not alter our behavior; yet the remembering freezes our behavior much of the time.

Confronting such complexity, historians have thus far restricted their attention to one kind of memory. This is "public memory," which brings together whole communities, regions, ethnic groups, and nations. The subject of the books before us is the workings of public memory, particularly at the national level but also in regional, ethnic, and local contexts. The infinitude of private memories remains for the most part in the background, unobserved. These books focus on memory collectivized, shaped, and managed. Each of them illuminates significantly the history of American national consciousness.

John Bodnar, whose major work hitherto has concerned the immigrants of the industrial era, advances an overall interpretation of a persistent conflict for control over public memory. Frankly rooted in the present, his book begins with the controversy that swirled around the creation of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. "Government leaders" and influential politicians, Bodnar observes, wanted a memorial that would promote national unity. "Ordinary people," however, wished to honor the soldiers rather than the nation. *Their* memorial was to express a personal sense of identification and loss. Bodnar traces this opposition between what he calls "official culture" and "vernacular culture" from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. More often than not, the ordinary people lose. Public memory is manipulated by nationally oriented elites.

We must not expect, Bodnar cautions, to find a clear-cut division between spontaneous masses and oppressive officials. Public memory is not a simple product of domination. It deals with the fundamental meanings of a society and therefore has to mediate between competing interpretations. The symbolic language of patriotism lends itself to such mediation. It is equally available to rival interests; also it conveniently obscures the naked exercise of power.

Fortunately, an able historian, in pursuing an interpretation that may not persuade us, can nevertheless bring to light what others have failed to see. *Remaking America* offers fascinating evidence of the changing salience of vernacular sentiments over the last hundred years. During the second half of the nineteenth century, for example, the residents of small towns and ethnic settlements in the Midwest began to celebrate the pioneers who had founded their communities. Thus, at the very time when sundry self-made men were attaining heroic proportions on a national level, the pioneer emerged in the West as the most powerful symbol of local communal identities. In later ethnic festivals leaders who were

sensitive to outside opinion shifted the emphasis from folk memories to testimonials of loyalty to America. Events such as the St. Patrick's Day parades became increasingly orderly and obedient to clerical authority. After the First World War civic ceremonies in the Midwest tended to construe the pioneer as a nation-builder more than an ancestor. Pioneering was now associated with agents of the nation-state like George Rogers Clark.

Beginning in the 1930s, Bodnar detects a renewed affirmation of the pioneer as a folk hero in spite of the efforts of elites (in the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission, for example) to maintain hegemony. After World War II the same underlying tension persisted through various state centennials and sesquicentennials, although public memory now accommodated a wider variety of ethnic contributions. In the 1960s "official patriotism" struck back sharply, then kept the upper hand during the American Revolution Bicentennial. Nevertheless, the managers continued to prevail only by allowing a widely decentralized participation of ordinary people in local programs.

For all of the freshness of detail and all of the shrewdness that we find here in judging the tactics of elites, this story of social control is unlikely to hold many readers who are not already sold on its message. There are two considerable shortcomings. First, the book is tendentious. Elaborately stated at the outset, Bodnar's theory is reiterated at every point in the narrative. Whatever the particular outcome of each episode and whatever replacements appear in the cast of characters—business men counting for less and government officials for more as the twentieth century progresses—the theory suggests that nothing much has really changed.

Moreover, the theory has to assume the dubious proposition that it seeks to prove: namely, a necessary (though usually hidden) antagonism between the determination of elites to make the national state preeminent and the desire of ordinary people to put their own immediate and local loyalties first. If that were consistently true, most people would be under an intolerable psychic strain. Most people want their wider and more localized loyalties to feel harmonious. They want family, church, and country to reinforce one another—and so should we all. Before Bodnar's story begins, patriotism was already becoming part of the vernacular cultures of America; and if it was put there by elites, common people nevertheless gained greatly from the widening of their horizons and the enhancement of their importance. The opposition Bodnar labors ceaselessly to show between "official patriotism" and the patriotism of the populace is generally far from clear. In ordinary times ordinary people think pretty well of their leaders and follow them willingly, while also signaling their own preferences.

Secondly, the author's language dulls and impedes his story. Sentences often straggle, metaphors break down, negatives pile up. We are told, for example, that "This effort did not obliterate the regional, state, ethnic, and local forums from the discussion of memory or erase the messages and symbols that these structures held dear" (p. 170). We learn that a certain piece of legislation "established a criteria" (p. 179), and that the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Indianapolis was "sur-

rounded by four bronze statues at each corner" (p. 81).[1] This is not a book for ordinary people. But historians enjoy a forceful thesis on a murky subject, and *Remaking America* most certainly advances courageously into one of the murkiest problems of a multicultural society.

Michael Kammen's huge new book deals with almost the same subject over the same span of time. Patriotism is less prominent in Kammen's story, but only because his much wider canvass includes many other appeals to the past. He writes not just about commemorative ceremonies and the sentiments they evoke but also about various kinds of custodians of the past such as historical societies and art museums, their wealthy patrons, antiquarians, scholars, collectors, novelists and critics, and the ordinary people who flock to flea markets as well as the Tournament of Roses. It is hard to imagine two more different treatments of a common subject than we have in Bodnar's tight focus on the politics of communal ceremony and Kammen's totally eclectic embrace of the cultivators of tradition and the institutions they have built.

Like Bodnar, Kammen begins with the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. To Kammen, however, it "demonstrates the inadequacy of any sharp dichotomy between official and popular memory because people of many ideological persuasions are deeply affected by it" (p. 11). The politics of culture, Kammen maintains, is not only about conflict but also about reconciliation. Accordingly, he eschews categories. Instead, his omnivorous curiosity pursues countless individuals and small groups whose diversified energies and ideas made the United States a country "with a configuration of recognized pasts" (p. 7).

Mystic Chords of Memory begins in the early nineteenth century when the only strong sense of tradition in white America was oriented toward Europe and consequently discredited by the rising consciousness of a new nation rejoicing in its liberation from the Old World. "We have outgrown tradition," boasted Orestes A. Brownson in 1836. As if to prove the point, a Washington official's wife, approaching the Capitol one day around the beginning of the Civil War, passed a number of tobacco hogsheads overflowing with old papers, among them some signed by George Washington. She learned from the workman in charge that these records of the first presidential administrations were rubbish, removed from the basement of the Capitol to make room for a bakery, and that she might take whatever she wanted.

Nevertheless, American-oriented traditionalists were popping up in the antebellum years, especially in New England, where Forefather's Day provided an occasion for celebrating Plymouth Rock, and (Kammen might have added) in Baltimore, where the first really notable historical monuments were constructed. After the Civil War the climate changed. Lincoln's invocation of "the mystic chords of memory" expanded into a keen awareness of continuity, a deepening interest in American history, a movement for preserving historical sites, and eventually a Colonial Revival in architecture, furniture, and silverware. All of these, Kammen argues, were partly conservative responses to the social stresses of industrialization, but partly also a consequence of the religious crisis of the late nineteenth century.

Tradition, scientifically documented and monumentally enshrined, supplied a surrogate for other-worldly faiths.

Before the First World War an American oriented traditionalism met resistance on two fronts. In patrician circles it was somewhat outclassed by the simultaneous resurgence of the older European based traditionalism. At a popular level it was constrained by the elitism of the leading traditionalists. During the years between the two world wars, however, the Party of Memory was significantly democratized and thereby much enlivened. How this happened Kammen does not make entirely clear, but one factor was a fertilizing conflict in literature, criticism, and the arts between modernists and traditionalists, through which the values of each enriched the other. In brief, the cultural nationalism of the New Deal was born a decade or more earlier in the poetry of Edgar Lee Masters, the folklore studies of Constance Rourke, and the raucous scholarship of H. L. Mencken's *The American Language* (1919). Many of the liveliest pages of Kammen's long book deal with intricate interconnections in the interwar years between people who are usually put in separate compartments.

For all of its wit and fluency, *Mystic Chords of Memory* too will give ordinary readers trouble, at least if they try to swallow it whole. The book overflows with information the author can not bear to leave out, so much has he enjoyed its discovery. Consequently the effort at inclusion drives him constantly to ad hoc elaboration of an interpretive structure that can become exceedingly baroque. Readers who lose their way in loose connections should simply skip ahead. They will find solider nourishment farther on. For everyone who has some specific interest in the institutions that administer American memory, this book provides the first substantial, reliable, and wonderfully engaged conspectus.

In spite of the delightful anecdotes and illustrations sprinkled throughout the book, Kammen ranges too widely to reach the level of vivid concreteness that is available in Edward Linenthal's modest offering, *Sacred Ground*. Here Memory fuses with Place in the special partnership neither can do without. In separate essays Linenthal gives us the history and present status of five important American battlefields: Lexington and Concord, the Alamo, Gettysburg, the Little Bighorn (still, to our national disgrace, known officially as the Custer Battlefield), and the Arizona Memorial at Pearl Harbor. As befits a professor of religious studies, Linenthal dwells throughout on the piety and awe with which visitors to these sites have increasingly approached them. At the Arizona Memorial, where the remains of almost a thousand men are still entombed, the naval divers who surveyed the wreck reported an overwhelming sense of being in the presence of something holy.

As histories, Linenthal's essays are episodic and not always as complete as might be desired. (A vital part of the Alamo story is more adequately covered by Kammen.) As studies in the politics of culture, however, they illustrate vividly the battles that are still fought over the interpretation of sacred symbols. In the case of Lexington and Concord, two towns long contested the priority each claimed as starting point of the American Revolution. At the Alamo, a Catholic claim for a share of the honors has been drowned in the racial rhetoric of Mexicans and

Anglo-Americans. At Gettysburg celebrations of victory have turned into celebrations of reconciliation and peace. But at the Little Bighorn the desire of the Sioux to memorialize their own struggle to preserve their way of life remains unfulfilled.

Each of these sacred places, except the Alamo, has come under the control of the National Park Service. Its handling of interpretive issues is therefore an important theme for Linenthal, as it is also for Bodnar and Kammen. Bodnar sees in the Park Service a culmination of an alliance between professionally trained historians and the national state. The Service has fairly consistently tried to minimize vernacular interest in particular sites and activities or to impose on them a nationalist framework. Local groups learned to insist loudly on national significance for projects in order to get them adopted by the Service. Contrarily, Kammen emphasizes a democratization of Park Service activities beginning in the 1930s. Earlier, the Service had concerned itself largely with preserving the scenic resources that patrician conservationists championed. Now it dramatically expanded its operation of historic sites and developed a broad program of interpreting them.

Linenthal examines some of the details of that interpretive activity and gives us in addition a brief but instructive foreword by Robert M. Utley, former chief historian for the Park Service. Linenthal and Utley describe a generally benevolent custodian: resisting the encroachment of commercial exploitation everywhere and promoting a rhetoric of inclusion when rival groups assert exclusive ownership of national symbols. Whether the present influence of the national state in shaping public memory is predominantly benevolent, democratizing, or self-aggrandizing—or a little bit of each—it is a relatively new aspect of American culture, which deserves vigilant scrutiny. For that reason and more, the contrasting perspectives of these three books are essential to our self-awareness as a quarrelsome and heterogeneous but still impressively unified people.

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NOTES

1. The central shaft is surrounded by four statues, not by sixteen.

Why the Confederacy Lost: An Essay Review

Why the Confederacy Lost. Ed. by Gabor S. Boritt. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. Pp. xii, 209. Notes, for further reading, note on contributors, index. $19.95.)

A conference at Gettysburg College, Pennsylvania, in 1958 led to the publication of *Why the North Won the Civil War,* a collection of essays edited by David Donald. Those essays treated such topics as political leadership, military strategy, and wartime diplomacy.[1] Since then, the historiography of nineteenth-century America has undergone a transformation. White women and African Americans, for example, are now central figures for historical study, as race, gender, class, and culture have become key analytical terms. Armed with a sophisticated understanding of political culture and ideology, historians have recast our understanding of the nature and importance of political parties. Local, state, labor, and legal history have become rich areas for inquiry, while constructs from historical sociology have generated useful comparisons with nation and state building in Europe. And a "new" military history has developed that integrally links homefront and battlefront.[2]

Surely it would seem time to seek to update the insights that the authors of the earlier essays brought to the study of the Civil War. And now, a generation later, a similar conference at Gettysburg College has produced such a reassessment—*Why the Confederacy Lost,* edited by Gabor S. Boritt. Boritt supplies an introduction, and James M. McPherson, Archer Jones, Gary W. Gallagher, Reid Mitchell, and Joseph T. Glatthaar contribute essays,[3] none of which reconsiders diplomacy or focuses on politics. Each supplies a concise analysis of some aspect of the military history of the Civil War. Together the essays suggest where the historiography of the war might be heading in the 1990s.

"Matters military, including what took place on the field of battle, played a decisive role in determining the history of the Civil War, and specifically why the Confederacy lost," Gabor Boritt argues in a strident introduction. The "outcome of the war was determined on the battlefield," he asserts. He proceeds to attack a recent essay by Eric Foner in *The New American History* (one that attempts to show how social historians have transformed our understanding of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction) for "ignor[ing] entirely the *war*—at least as that word is commonly understood."[4]

The five essays differ in tone with Boritt's introduction, but they agree with Boritt on the importance of military events and share his notion that "the battlefield cannot be separated from society and politics."[5] Consistent with the new social and military history, the essays creatively explore the relationship between military events and the social order. They suggest the need for even more development of

the interaction of social, political, and military matters. Though they draw on much of the work of the past generation, they by no means displace the 1960 essays.

In "American Victory, American Defeat," James McPherson offers a "critical review of the literature on the reasons for Confederate defeat" that distinguishes between "internal" and "external" reasons. He outlines various dimensions of internal weakness in the Confederacy that are often cited as contributing to the outcome. Thus he cites Frank Owsley's statement that on the tombstone of the Confederacy should be carved the epitaph "Died of State Rights" as well as David Donald's essay in the 1960 collection, "Died of Democracy." In addition he discusses what he calls the "internal alienation" argument and the "lack-of-will" thesis.[6]

McPherson takes aim at assertions of Southern disunity or disillusionment as explanations for the outcome. He argues that, if large numbers of slaves and nonslaveholding whites failed to support the Confederacy, by the same token large numbers of border-state residents and Democrats elsewhere failed to support the Union. Moreover, "if the Confederacy had its bread riots, the North had its draft riots." McPherson speaks of the "fallacy of reversibility," by which he means that, had the North lost, not only would this book have a different title but the same "internal" explanations could account for the alternate outcome. Insisting that there was "intense conflict within the *northern* polity," he contends that internal conflict in one region more or less balanced, or neutralized, such conflict within the other region. As for "lack of will," he argues that no such static portrait does justice to the dynamics of wartime psychology. What happened was, rather, a "loss of will," and what explains it occurred on the battlefield. In short, "military defeat caused loss of will, not vice versa." This approach "introduces external agency as a crucial explanatory factor—the agency of northern military success, especially in the eight months after August 1864."[7]

McPherson's approach is evident in his account of the Battle of Gettysburg. Contrary to various explanations that rest on Confederate shortcomings, McPherson lets Gen. George Pickett drawl, "I always thought the Yankees had something to do with it." Yet, though emphasizing external factors, McPherson refuses to adopt the notion that Union victory necessarily followed from its numerical superiority in everything from population to manufacturing capacity. For one thing, he dismisses Richard Current's confident assertion in his 1960 essay, "God and the Strongest Battalions," that "surely, in view of the disparity of resources," only "a miracle" could have produced Confederate victory.[8] The Confederacy had, after all, only to hang on long enough for the Union to lose its enthusiasm for a war that was simply costing too much in blood and treasure. It could fight a defensive war, seeking only to hold on to its armies and its territory, and thus did not necessarily need to match the North's resources. McPherson cites to good advantage a 1986 book by Archer Jones and others contending that "an invader needs more force than the North possessed to conquer such a large country as the South, even one so limited in logistical resources." Or, as Confederate Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard wrote after the war, "no people ever warred for independence

with more relative advantages than the Confederates." Superior human and material resources, McPherson declares, comprised "a *necessary* but not a *sufficient* cause of victory."[9]

According to McPherson (and, for the most part, the other essayists presented here), the war was won and lost on the battlefield. Things could have gone either way. Often enough, they did. At times during the war, a Confederate victory appeared certain or at least likely. Time and again, Union victories made any such certainties vanish. In autumn 1862, after a period of Union military frustration and in time for the fall elections, Union armies stopped Confederate invaders at Perryville and Antietam. In summer 1863, similar gloom among Unionists and hope among Confederates faded away with reports from Vicksburg and Gettysburg. Had the 1864 presidential election been held in August, before the news of Sherman's capture of Atlanta, instead of later, observers then and virtually all commentators since have held that the election—a referendum on Lincoln's administration and the Union's war effort—would have put an end to both.

According to the central thesis of McPherson's essay, "it is this element of contingency that is missing from generalizations about the cause of Confederate defeat, whether such generalizations focus on external or internal factors. There was nothing inevitable about northern victory in the Civil War." "To understand why the South lost . . . we must turn from large generalizations that imply inevitability and study instead the contingency that hung over each military campaign, each battle, each election, each decision during the war."[10]

Contingency, however, cannot mean that both sides were in equal positions. If, to take only the matter of manpower, we use Roger L. Ransom's recent breakdown of all men ages 10–49 in 1860, the Union states had 6.9 million white men to call upon (850,000 of them in the slave, or border, states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri), while the Confederacy had only 1.7 million white men in addition to 1.2 million black men.[11] Both the strategic nature of the war and how these men were mobilized and deployed affected the contingent probabilities. The other four essays fit fairly well within McPherson's overall approach. They suggest how each side was able to use its resources in a manner that made Sherman's victory at Atlanta and the election of 1864 so important.

In "Military Means, Political Ends: Strategy," Archer Jones offers a useful set of strategic distinctions and matches them up against a "broad" strategic perspective that incorporates cultural and political considerations. Jones distinguishes between a "logistic strategy," which focuses on denying the enemy army the means of making war, and a "combat strategy," in which armies clash directly. He describes the "traditional ascendancy of the strategic defensive," which, particularly given the advent and adoption of the rifled musket with its much greater long-distance accuracy, moderated the North's manpower advantage on the offensive. He argues that Union generals, perceiving that the Union's predominance in resources was insufficient to permit a victory in combat that focused on clashes between armies, made "the tacit decision to seek to conquer the South's territory as the means of weakening its armies. The loss of control of territory would deprive the southern

armies not only of their food and other production but of the manpower the lost area would have provided." Jones also distinguishes between "raiding" approaches, which permitted armies to move swiftly and live off the land, and the logistically more demanding "persisting" approaches, where armies had to be ready to occupy territory for long periods. Regardless of whether conflict followed the strategy of combat or logistics, each side suffered as well as inflicted casualties, and Jones measures such attrition, or "manpower depletion," as "a percentage of [each side's] total forces." Thus, in any encounter, the Confederacy had to inflict more than twice the casualties it suffered, just to break even.[12]

Strategic constraints, Jones reminds us, must be understood within what others (like J. F. C. Fuller) have termed "grand strategy."[13] "Thus northern and southern strategists had to consider the political effect of their military actions on not only the enemy but on the attitudes of foreign powers and the opinions of their own people, including the citizen soldiers." Political leaders and generals ignored such factors at their peril. "The attitude of the public," Jones reminds us, "had great importance in this war, the first large-scale, prolonged conflict between democratically organized countries in the age of mass circulation newspapers and widespread literacy." Thus he stresses "the role of public opinion . . . which meant that military campaigns often had to meet a double criteria for victory, the popular as well as the strategic."[14]

Jones's analyses of Robert E. Lee's 1862 invasion of Maryland and William Tecumseh Sherman's 1864 raid through Georgia suggest the utility of distinguishing among strategies and specifying the various constituencies. Lee, according to Jones, neither intended to nor could have stayed in Maryland for the winter. "Since the political definition of losing is retreat," and Lee "would have had to withdraw after any battle, his decision to fight assured a negative political result in the South and a positive one in the North." Thus, Lee's decision itself to face battle relying on his hungry, tired, and poorly-equipped troops—not just the outcome of the battle—enabled Lincoln to issue the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation and, perhaps, prevent foreign recognition of the Confederacy. (Lincoln had been waiting for a victory since Seward had cautioned him that a proclamation without one would be viewed as a pathetic "cry for help; the government stretching forth hands to Ethiopia.") "Strategically and politically," Jones concludes, "Lee's Antietam campaign was a fiasco." By contrast, Sherman's raid through Georgia, two years later, appeared to both sides as a Union victory and a Confederate defeat; for the North, it "constituted a significant political triumph as well as a major victory for the logistic strategy."[15]

In "'Upon Their Success Hang Momentous Interests': Generals," Gary Gallagher focuses on the three generals who made the greatest contributions to the chances of victory by their armies: Lee for the Confederacy and Grant and Sherman for the Union. Working from the premise that, as McPherson and Jones agree, the Union's predominance in human and material resources for winning the war could by no means secure the victory, Gallagher asserts that "the North always enjoyed a substantial edge in manpower and almost every manufacturing category, but

none of Grant's predecessors proved equal to the task of harnessing and directing that latent strength." Relating homefront to battlefront, Gallagher "proceeds from the assumption that generals made a very great difference in determining the outcome of the war. Their actions decided events on the battlefield, which in turn either calmed or aggravated internal tensions that affected the ability of each government to prosecute the war."[16]

Gallagher draws on, but revises, J. F. C. Fuller's 1933 comparative study of Lee and Grant. Fuller, who began his work with the sense that Lee had transcendent ability and Grant was "a butcher," developed the position, instead, that Grant was the superior general. Gallagher accepts Fuller's evaluation of Grant's qualities but contests his diminished assessment of Lee. Gallagher cites strategic and political factors to justify Lee's emphasis on the Virginia theater. The Confederacy, he writes, "could lose in the West or the East, but it could win the war only in the East." And he offers evidence that the North, the Confederacy, and foreign observers alike viewed Virginia as the center of action. That the North focused on Virginia, for example, can be seen in the "demand that Grant go east when he became general in chief" in 1864. Thus Lee's emphasis reflected more than the narrow view of a parochial Virginian. As for Lee's alleged limitations, Gallagher argues that, "far from being innocent of the importance of the West and the psychological dimension of his operations, he [perhaps saw] more clearly than any of his peers the best road to Confederate independence." Lee's victories "buoyed" Confederate "hopes when defeat lay in all other directions, dampened spirits in the North, and impressed European political leaders. They also propelled him to a position where, long before the end of the war, he stood unchallenged as a military hero and his Army of Northern Virginia had become synonymous with the Confederacy in the minds of many southern whites."[17]

Strategies require men, and both Gallagher and Jones touch on this when they examine the relationship between homefront and battlefront. While Gallagher suggests the importance of military leadership to homefront behavior, Jones invokes World War II Germany to elucidate another aspect of the problem: "unlike the defeat of Germany . . . , the Civil War did not end almost entirely as a result of military victory." Confederate armies evaporated, Jones contends, "not because men lacked supplies but because they and their families no longer had the political motivation to continue."[18]

Reid Mitchell pursues these issues in his essay, "The Perseverance of the Soldiers." He offers a significant refinement of Current's position: "having the heaviest battalions does not proceed automatically from having the greatest population, wealth, or resources." It demands "the perseverance of the soldiers," something the Union retained and the Confederacy lost. Mitchell harks back to an antiwar slogan against the Vietnam War and asks: "What if they gave a war and nobody came? . . . What would have happened if the men of the North had not volunteered in droves in 1861?" Beyond 1861, what if the soldiers had not stayed? Endurance was not to be assumed, particularly during the bloody first month of the Army of the Potomac's 1864 campaign when it suffered 55,000 casualties—al-

most the total strength of Lee's army at the campaign's start. Numerically, the North could afford to absorb such losses since it could call up more troops, and, after all, it was inflicting 32,000 casualties on the Army of Northern Virginia. Still, to continue a protracted bloody strategy of attrition required support from soldiers and civilians alike, particularly with elections coming up. The Union secured such support in 1864; the Confederacy did not. "How did the Union succeed in employing its heaviest battalions? [It] succeeded because the men who made up those battalions volunteered to be employed, not just in 1861 when they did not know better, but in 1864 as well."[19]

Mitchell's analysis raises issues that have been touched upon by the new social and military history. "Small-unit" camaraderie, for example, and ideology (particularly a "love for the Union") bound Union soldiers together. In theory, similar bonds (with local autonomy replacing "Union") might have promoted the morale of Confederate soldiers. But, according to Mitchell, the Confederacy had a key structural and ideological weakness: it "was created as a means to defend racial slavery." White southerners themselves entered the war divided over slavery. And as the war progressed, the suffering of non-slaveholding families and "the fears men had that their families would be crushed as traditional southern society came crashing down" sapped Confederate soldiers' willingness to stay in the field. "If the Union army's cohesion made Union victory possible, lack of cohesion [that is, as McPherson would say, *loss* of cohesion] accounted for the timing of Confederate defeat."[20]

Not only did this ideological weakness undercut the revolutionary government's attempt to keep men in the field, it also prevented the Confederacy from adopting one strategic approach that nations often use when facing overwhelming outside power: guerrilla warfare. And, "once the Confederacy decided on conventional warfare, the heaviest battalions would win—as long as the Union was willing to prosecute the war."[21]

If Reid Mitchell brings slavery back to center stage, Joseph Glatthaar highlights the central roles of black men and (sometimes) black women. In "Black Glory: The African-American Role in Union Victory," the most consistently innovative essay in the book, Glatthaar assesses the contributions of black Americans, free and slave, from North and South, to the outcome of the war. He takes seriously Lincoln's wartime words, that recruiting black soldiers in the South "works doubly, weakening the enemy and strengthening us." He shows how African-American agency forced the Lincoln administration to move toward a policy of adopting black labor, black emancipation, and black soldiers. He depicts black northerners acting out their sense that "the war offered a rare opportunity to strike a mighty blow at slavery, dispel prejudice, and demonstrate to all that blacks could contribute in real and significant ways to the nation in times of crisis, and therefore merited full and equal rights."[22] He traces how white soldiers came to accept black soldiers as crucial allies in a common struggle.

Black soldiers, according to Glatthaar, provided the difference between defeat and victory. During 1864 they provided sufficient manpower to keep both Sherman's and

Grant's armies in the field, contributing to Lincoln's 1864 election victory. "During those key months in the late spring and summer, when the picture for the Lincoln administration looked bleakest and the Union desperately struggled to maintain its uniformed strength, more than 100,000 blacks were serving in the Union army and thousands more were in the Federal navy. In fact, there were more blacks in Union blue than either Grant commanded outside Petersburg or Sherman directed around Atlanta."[23]

The Confederate government's decision to free and arm slave men in the final weeks of the war, Glatthaar suggests, highlights the importance of black troops' contribution to the Union war effort. Moreover, quite aside from combat troops, black military laborers who relieved white Union soldiers from noncombat roles were just as important in freeing up white soldiers for combat duty as they had been, whether on the homefront or in logistics work, for the Confederacy.[24]

Slaves' contributions went still farther. Glatthaar connects the battlefront and the homefront in two central ways. When slaves withdrew their labor from production for the Confederate cause, they contributed to shortages among soldiers and civilians alike. As Mitchell, too, suggests, they worked to destabilize the Confederacy; when they appeared restless, they contributed to apprehension among white civilians—and therefore among their kin in the Confederate army—that a slave uprising might be imminent.

All the essays share, in degree, Glatthaar's sensitivity to matters of race. Thus they demonstrate a refreshing consciousness of the language of race and a clear ability to distinguish social history from political history.

Gallagher's essay is (almost consistently) exemplary in this respect. Boritt sets the tone in denying any identity of "South" and "Confederacy." As he notes, a large minority of southerners were slaves and free blacks, and anti-Confederate white southerners were sufficiently numerous, he concludes, that "close to half of the South probably welcomed northern victory." Mitchell offers a similar statement and rationale.[25]

Yet Mitchell often proceeds, in the pages that follow, to forget his caveat and thus misstate his findings. Neglecting the crucial contributions of black southerners to the Confederate war effort—the subject of Glatthaar's essay—he writes that most white men went "in the army and left the burden of farming and other work to women, the young, and the elderly." As a consequence, "the people of the South" faced hunger, even starvation. Again dropping the racial qualifier, he writes that "the women and children faced more than hard times and the threat of Union armies," that "slave management was a burden that fell increasingly on women," and that a "slave rebellion . . . might fall most heavily on women and children." Surely southerners in the 1860s, including women and children, cannot—empirically or ethically—be presumed white unless specified black.[26]

The essayists sometimes differ with one another in interpretation. Their differences point up a lack of consensus on various matters and the need for further thought. Taking on Archer Jones (and the other three authors of *Why the South Lost*), McPherson states that they "conclude flatly, in the face of much of their own

evidence, that 'the Confederacy succumbed to internal rather than external causes.'" While accepting Jones's concept of multiple constituencies, Gallagher displays a more favorable assessment of Lee's leadership than does Jones; he suggests that "Lee pursued a strategy attuned to the expectations of most Confederate citizens and calculated to exert maximum influence on those who made policy in the North and in Europe." Mitchell embraces a version of Current's 1960 notion of "the heaviest battalions" and writes, with McPherson's essay in mind, that "it is no assertion of inevitability to argue that the odds were more than a little in favor of the Union." Moreover, Mitchell takes an internal, more than an external, approach to explaining the Confederate loss: "What I would like to consider here," he writes, "is the way that the Confederacy's weakness on the home front—including the problem of racial slavery . . . —undermined the loyalties of its soldiers in the field." Thus Mitchell embraces, while McPherson dismisses, slavery as a wartime ideological problem for white southerners. Meantime, where McPherson has recently emphasized Lincoln's central role in emancipation (calling him the "sine qua non") and downplayed that of slaves themselves, Glatthaar emphasizes that, even in Confederate-held territory, slaves proved crucial in promoting Union victory.[27]

That an internal explanation of Confederate defeat can still muster spirited support was recently demonstrated by Douglas Ball in *Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat.* His is an account of financial affairs, one of the dimensions of strategy that McPherson ("nor did the South manage its economy as well as the North") and Jones ("beyond strictly military concerns to . . . diplomacy, economic mobilization, and finance") mention but choose not to develop. Yet Ball also supplies a military strategy which, he argues, might very well have achieved Confederate victory—if, that is, Ball had been Confederate secretary of the treasury instead of Christopher G. Memminger, "an ignorant, blunt, laissez-faire zealot bemused by legalisms." Thus Ball writes in terms fully consistent with McPherson's rejection of the inevitability of Union victory and his theory of contingency. He nevertheless embraces an internal account of why the Confederacy lost. And he takes us back to the question of political leadership, a central issue in the 1960 collection but not the 1992 approach.[28] The fight over the war goes on.

If we are to understand better the dynamics of this civil war, issues of social and economic conflict must be explored in various comparative contexts. War, Steven Hahn reminds us in his study of southern yeomen, "tests the fabric of a social order as does nothing else, taxing social and political ties as much as human and material resources." While McPherson suggests that social conflict in both regions balanced each other out, the existing evidence might more readily support Roger Ransom's contention that, "although the mobilization effort on both sides exacerbated class tensions, the problem of inequality was far greater in the South than in the North."[29] While the essays usefully invoke comparisons with other American wars, European conflicts might better suggest the impact of social conflict on the battlefront.[30]

The Civil War homefront, the focus of much exciting recent work, receives passing attention in every essay, particularly McPherson's and Mitchell's, yet it gets sustained analysis in none. Region, gender, race, and class, if combined, could give greater substance to assertions regarding the Confederate homefront.[31] Such dimensions need not be developed only on their own terms. Indeed, the logic of these essays would suggest that those issues cannot be analyzed in isolation from events on the battlefield if they are to help answer the question "why the Confederacy lost." In connecting homefront and battlefront, civilians and soldiers, perhaps a single study could track the impact of military events on various social groups across the South. New studies of women (white and black) in North Carolina and slaves (male and female) in Virginia offer evidence that the materials for such a task continue to become available.[32]

Another appropriate vehicle might be an essay that compared the homefronts of the Union and the Confederacy in terms of political efforts to support the families of soldiers and thus help keep those soldiers in the field. In North and South alike (though one would not know it from these essays), public authorities assumed the task of supplying soldiers' dependents with such necessities as food and clothing.[33] Such assistance could not protect civilians from military insecurity, but it did address economic insecurity, and thus it reduced one of the two war-related pulls of dependents on soldiers. Little work has explored this phenomenon in the South and even less in the North, and thus it cannot readily be synthesized. Yet surely such work must be pursued in the future, in part to get at questions of the regions' relative ability—as well as inclination—to play that role. Moreover, it is worth exploring whether the struggle for territory had other objectives than the military ones of securing manpower and provisions and the political one of making a psychological impact on the various constituencies. Did such efforts—in East Tennessee, for example—also relate to a desire to put in place local governments that could allocate supplies to the families of soldiers in the Union army rather than in the Confederate forces?

One essay surely appears to be missing from this collection. It relates directly to military affairs, and it observes the need to connect military developments with political events and expectations. To be sure, it fits less comfortably with McPherson's emphasis on external causes, and it leans against his stance that internal dissent in the two regions more or less canceled out in determining the war's outcome. Like Boritt in his introduction, McPherson and Mitchell refer to the large numbers of white Unionists in the Confederate states. No essay focuses on that crucial group in a way that matches Glatthaar's essay on black participation. But the state of West Virginia stands to this day as a monument to the great numbers of anti-Confederate white southerners. East Tennessee supplied even more white troops to the Union army than did West Virginia. In a recent study, which appeared at about the same time these essays did, Richard Current harks back to an early study by Charles C. Anderson, *Fighting by Southern Federals* (1912), which focused on Union soldiers from the South. Current concludes that perhaps one-tenth of the one million white soldiers from the eleven Confederate states fought for the Union, not against it.

Not only did they reduce Confederate forces by that number, but they offset an equal number.[34]

Thus, counting white men only, as Current does, the eleven states produced a net figure of only 800,000 Confederate soldiers, down 20 percent from the estimate of a million. The roles of white Union troops from Confederate states can perhaps better be explained in terms of "internal" than "external" considerations. Regardless, in a war in which, as McPherson emphasizes, the outcome was by no means inevitable, any considerable force at the margins—denied the Confederacy and added to the Union's resources—could well have been critical to the war's outcome. By withholding or withdrawing their support from the Confederacy and supplying that support instead to the Union, black southerners and white southerners alike made a difference. Either one might have made *the* difference. Together, they surely did.

With Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri in mind, McPherson notes that "perhaps one-third of the border-state whites actively supported the Confederacy."[35] McPherson intends to establish the opposition that the Lincoln administration faced in the North. But perhaps we should consider "border-state whites," too, as southerners, large numbers of whom actively supported the Union. In other words, what if we considered all white Unionists who resided in slave states—whether in the Union or the Confederacy—as belonging to the same group? Perhaps it is better yet, in tallying the human and material resources of the time, to distinguish the slave states of the Union from the Confederate states and the "free states" alike. Lincoln knew he had to have those states. He could not hope to win without them. They hung in the balance, reflecting the divided loyalties of the people in those states, a microcosm of the North and South combined.

In sum, these five essays bring thoughtful and useful perspectives to the question they are designed to answer, "why the Confederacy lost." They should be, and no doubt will be, of considerable interest to popular and scholarly readers alike. But our reading of them is that they point up what still needs to be done as much as they summarize what is already known. They supplement, but they do not supplant, the 1960 essays. Long before another three decades has passed, one hopes that yet another effort will emerge that will synthesize current knowledge and propose new paradigms.

Gallagher concludes his essay by observing about a wartime Confederate writer that he "left no doubt about the connection between generalship and affairs on the home front. Modern students who neglect this connection do so at their peril." He goes on to stress that "any explanation of the war's outcome that slights military events cannot possibly convey the intricacies of the subject."[36] Readers are indebted to the writers of the essays in this collection for highlighting and elaborating that insight.

The rejoinder, if such it be, is that students of the war must continue to follow that road in both directions. Each side's military strategy was constrained by the nature of its own society, and the nature of that society determined how the twists and turns of fortune in military affairs would play at home. Another writer recently

decried "the division of labor" among Civil War historians between those who resonate to "things military" and those who focus on "things civilian."[37] We still need to know more about the homefront on each side, and further work remains to develop the two-way relationship, on each side, between social structure and military events.

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NOTES

1. David [Herbert] Donald, ed., *Why the North Won the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960). The authors thank Paul Finkelman of Virginia Tech for his critical reading of this essay.

2. For changes in general, see C. Vann Woodward, ed., *The Comparative Approach to American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1968); Eric Foner, ed., *The New American History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); and the full issues of *Daedalus*, 100 (Winter 1971), and *Reviews in American History*, 10 (December 1982). To sample the new military history, see E. Wayne Carp, "Early American Military History: A Review of Recent Work," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 94 (1986): 259–84, and Steven Rosswurm, *Arms, Country, and Class: The Philadelphia Militia and the "Lower Sort" during the American Revolution, 1775–1783* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987). Regarding the Civil War, leading examples of recent contributions are Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," *Journal of American History*, 76 (1989–90): 1200–28, reprinted with other essays in Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds., *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Ira Berlin et al., *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Eric Foner, *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Jean H. Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of the Democratic Party in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); and Maris A. Vinovskis, ed., *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Other such works are cited below or in Joseph T. Glatthaar, "The 'New' Civil War History: An Overview," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 115 (1991): 339–69; Gary W. Gallagher, "Home Front and Battlefield: Some Recent Literature Relating to Virginia and the Confederacy," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 98 (1990): 135–68; and Daniel E. Sutherland, "Getting the 'Real War' into the Books," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 98 (1990): 193–220.

3. Gabor S. Boritt, ed., *Why the Confederacy Lost* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). The book also contains endnotes, an index, and a brief bibliographical essay.

4. Quotations ibid., pp. 5, 6, 8. Contrary to Boritt's gloss on him, Foner makes his purpose clear when he states that, "*apart from works primarily military in orientation*, recent studies of the Civil War carry forward themes dominant in the new interpretation of antebellum history." In contending that "the Emancipation Proclamation, rather than the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, marked the war's turning point, for it transformed a struggle of armies into a combat of societies," Foner surely does take a position that contrasts with Boritt's. Foner, *The New American History*, pp. 79–80 (emphasis added).

5. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, p. 14.

6. Ibid., pp. 18, 26, 34.

7. Ibid., pp. 25, 29, 34 (emphasis in original).

8. Our reading of Current leaves us convinced that, to a considerable extent, he would agree with McPherson as regards both inevitability and "lack of will." An early major blunder on the battlefield, Current argues, or early recognition by foreign powers, might well have prevented Union victory. But the war went on and became a war of attrition. What then happened on the battlefield, according to Current, was largely a function of the vastly superior economic resources that the Union could draw on. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union* (4 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959–71), provides strong support for Current's position.

9. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, pp. 19–20, 22–23.

10. Ibid., pp. 40, 42.

11. Roger L. Ransom, *Conflict and Compromise: The Political Economy of Slavery, Emancipation, and the American Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 214.

12. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, pp. 45, 47, 52–53.

13. J. F. C. Fuller, *Grant and Lee: A Study in Personality and Generalship* (1933; 2nd. ed., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), chs. 1, 7.

14. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, pp. 46, 77.

15. Ibid., pp. 60–61, 74; Seward quotation in David Osher, "Soldier Citizens for a Disciplined Nation: Union Conscription and the Construction of the Modern American Army (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1992), p. 403.

16. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, pp. 85, 91.

17. Ibid., pp. 90, 98, 100, 104.

18. Ibid., p. 74.

19. Ibid., pp. 111, 113, 120, 122.

20. Ibid., pp. 115, 121, 124, 130. See also Phillip S. Paludan, "The American Civil War Considered as a Crisis in Law and Order," *American Historical Review*, 77 (1972): 1013–34.

21. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, p. 113. See also Ransom, *Conflict and Compromise*, ch. 6.

22. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, pp. 147, 161.

23. Ibid., p. 137.

24. Glatthaar may actually understate the importance of African Americans and of federal policy regarding them; see Osher, "Soldier Citizens," chs. 11–12.

25. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, pp. 13, 111–12.

26. Ibid., pp. 127–29. For another statement along these lines on the use of language, see a letter from Richard L. Aynes to the editor, *Georgia Journal of Southern Legal History*, 1 (1991): 499–501.

27. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, pp. 35, 98, 112, 125; McPherson, "Who Freed the Slaves?" (and comments during discussion), a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., December 1992.

28. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, pp. 36, 45; Douglas B. Ball, *Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), quotation p. 31. Various reviews of Ball's book have taken him to task for ascribing so much responsibility for Confederate defeat to bad leadership; nonetheless those reviews typically point to an alternative internal explanation—planters' disinclination to pursue other financial policies.

29. Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850–1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 116; Ransom, *Conflict and Compromise*, p. 199. Northern draft riots provide a case in point regarding the relative inequality in the two regions. For analyses that show the complex roles of class and party during the war, see Eric L. McKitrick, "Party Politics and the Union and Confederate War Efforts," in William Nisbet Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham, eds., *The American Party Systems: Stages of Political Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 117–51; and, among more recent work, Osher, "Soldier Citizens," chs. 9–10; Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); and Grace Palladino, *Another Civil War: Labor, Capital, and the State in the Anthracite Regions of Pennsylvania, 1840–1868* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

30. Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, A.D. 990–1990* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1990).

31. Recent treatments of the homefront include George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots*; and Palladino, *Another Civil War*. For a suggestive review calling for further work on the Confederate homefront, see Gallagher, "Home Front and Battlefield." An excellent interpretive synthesis of the North's Civil War experience is Phillip Shaw Paludan, *"A People's Contest": The Union and Civil War, 1861–1865* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

32. Victoria E. Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp. 111–50; Lynda J. Morgan, *Emancipation in Virginia's Tobacco Belt, 1850–1870* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), pp. 79–123.

33. Peter Wallenstein, "Rich Man's War, Rich Man's Fight: Civil War and the Transformation of Public Finance in Georgia," *Journal of Southern History*, 50 (1984): 15–42.

34. Richard Nelson Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), esp. pp. 213–28; Charles C. Anderson, *Fighting by Southern Federals* (New York: Neale, 1912). See also Peter Wal-

lenstein, "Which Side Are You On? The Social Origins of White Union Troops from Civil War Tennessee," *Journal of East Tennessee History*, 63 (1991): 72–103, and "Cartograms and the Mapping of Virginia History, 1790–1990," *Virginia Social Science Journal*, 28 (1993): 90–110. Moreover, tens of thousands of white men, natives (or the sons of natives) of Virginia but residents of Ohio and Illinois, returned to the South wearing blue, not gray. Wallenstein ("Cartograms," p. 100) and Anderson emphasize their importance, though Current (see p. 214) neglects them. Anderson gives a figure of one million for total manpower in the Confederate armed forces. Offsetting that figure, he states that 634,000 "southerners" fought on the Union side: 297,000 white residents of the "South" (including the slave states in the Union), 138,000 black southerners, and perhaps 200,000 whites who were natives of slave states but living in free states.

35. Boritt, *Why the Confederacy Lost*, pp. 13, 111–12. A monument to Confederate women is located in Baltimore, Maryland, on Charles Street at University Parkway.

36. Ibid., p. 108.

37. Sutherland, "Getting the 'Real War' into the Books," p. 200.

Book Reviews

Maryland's Eastern Shore: A Journey in Time And Place. By John R. Wennersten. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1992. Pp. 276. Bibliographical references and index. $23.95.)

The task of reviewing and explaining the diverse history, development and current status of Maryland counties geographically spread from Cecil to Somerset, is a challenge, to say the least. Currently a professor of American history at the University of Maryland, Eastern Shore, the talented author of this book has well met such a challenge. The reader, whether a native, a regular visitor or one who has never come in contact with the Eastern Shore of Maryland, will enjoy the informative descriptions of land, rivers, marshes, wildlife, islands, sailing craft, steamboats, seafood, crops, customs, traditions and, most important, the colorful presentations of the rugged individuals who originally founded, later developed, and now live on the Eastern Shore.

The three chapters in the book entitled, "Race Relations on the Eastern Shore," on balance seem to give a fair picture of this portion of history, although advocates on either side might take issue. These chapters probably were the most difficult for the author to write from a non-biased standpoint, but the result is constructive. Also, the role of indentured servants and the difficulties experienced by various Indian tribes, are well developed.

Each of the counties of Maryland's Eastern Shore has, to a large extent, its own distinctive settlement and background. Thus, a full history of each county would be much more complex and would take volumes more of research and writing to fully outline and explain. Notwithstanding, this well written book gives the reader a strong sense of each county's history. Speaking as a resident of Dorchester County, this reviewer notes, however, that the very early development of St. Mary's City and the subsequent emigration therefrom of Dorchester's very early settlers to Taylors Island, Hoopers Island and the Little Choptank areas are not described. The author has concentrated instead on the Jamestown and Kent Island settlements.

The towns of Maryland's Eastern Shore—Salisbury, Princess Anne, Crisfield, Ocean City, Cambridge, Easton, Oxford, St. Michaels, Denton, Centreville, Chestertown, Elkton and others—are described both historically and currently in such a manner that the reader will appreciate and enjoy the role each town has played, and is playing, on the "Shore."

The overall theme of this book becomes apparent in successive chapters and is well summarized in the last chapter entitled the "Two Faces of the Eastern Shore." One face considers the Shore's past and its "web" of tradition, community life, provincialism, and "absurd prejudices"; the other face anticipates the inevitable future of the area and yet welcomes any change "with a rough unfettered individualism."

The author has not only a sense of humor but also a style that fully holds the reader's attention. This book is an excellent contribution to Maryland and its history and traditions .

GEORGE M. RADCLIFFE, SR.
Spocott Farm, Dorchester

H. L. Mencken, My Life as Author and Editor. Edited and with an introduction by Jonathan Yardley. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993. Pp. xxiii, 405. Appendix, index. $30.)

With a scalpel in one hand, a club in the other, and joy in his heart, Henry Louis Mencken races through the American literary scene between 1920 and 1923, with excursions into the later 20s, 30s, and 40s. Always proclaiming his superiority to the Boobus Americanus, HLM smugly announces his aristocratic heritage (false) and amuses us who have anticipated this opus.

Before examining the account itself, let us pay our respects to the editor, Jonathan Yardley. this reviewer had a glimpse of the manuscript in its original form and anticipated two enormous volumes, heavily indexed and annotated. Yardley has done a magnificent piece of work separating the wheat from the chaff. He has deleted most of HLM's financial dealings, edited out ponderous biographies of little-known and forgotten authors, and produced a compact, readable, vintage Mencken. Yardley has left in all the religious and racial slurs and all t he avid dislikes and prejudices, leaving pure Mencken.

Mencken seems to dislike everyone, the population of these United States mainly. He destroys Dorothy Thompson, blaming her for Sinclair Lewis's addiction to the bottle. But her main sin is that she early on blew the whistle on Hitler (she was expelled from Germany in 1934), was a friend of Eleanor Roosevelt and Jews, and rooted for the British. All of these gave her a number of items in HLM's bad graces. The sketches of Lewis, Huneker, Cabell (and family), Dreiser, Anita Loos, and Fitzgerald are all gems of Menckenese, though they reveal nothing new or startling, simply Mencken. He refers to Dreiser as an "oafish dour German peasant." We meet all the greats of the literati and some of the stage and screen of this period. All of them Mencken dealt with in his usual manner, sparing no one, Nathan least of all.

He is particularly hard on Jews. he uses Jew as a prefix to any one of the faith mentioned, usually in an uncomplimentary fashion. He dislikes Jews on the whole, but then he has high praise for those he approves of—until they displease him by voting for Roosevelt or denouncing Nazi atrocities.

There are themes running through the book which give us a look at private Mencken. His opinions and habits formed at an early age and—since they were inherited from his father and grandfather—he does not desire to change them. He pretends (slyly) to be of "superior birth" (viz. the family coat of arms). He clings to old ways, working by gaslight until 1920, when finally he electrified his house. He waited on this until his arch enemy, Wilson, left the White House, which had

had this convenience for many years. And mainly he protects his private life. He describes all his alliances, legal and otherwise, naming names and places, but gives us nary a name of any of the ladies he wiles away his time with. Only one familiar name appears, that of Aileen Pringle, and only because he introduces Ruth Suchow to her in Hollywood.

The book seems to have been dictated in two distinct periods. The early art, composed probably during 1942–45, is full of vitriol for the Sunpapers' Anglophiles and Jews and liberals in general. After the war he seems to have become more tolerant of the "idiot population." It is during this period that he succumbs to the siren call of one Siegfried Weisberger, a Charles Street bookseller, and dines with him at the Park Plaza. Weisberger, a Viennese Jew, hinted that he had a trace of the "Noble Goy" in his ancestry (see Weisberger letters, University of Pennsylvania Rare Book Library). Weisberger had tried for years, with little success, to get Mencken's review copies of books.

Is this book worth reading? Yes. The Menckenisms are all there: He refers to someone objectionable as having "as much Christian Charity as a Christian Bishop"; he refers to Lord Alfred Douglas as "Oscar Wilde's old girl." The frugal Mencken gloats over his refusal to buy bonds in World War I and buys them later at a discount. He frequently refers to his "coming back from the War" in 1916–17, as though he were a combatant (he had been sent by the *Sun* as a correspondent). He tells us nothing of what he saw on the then Eastern Front, yet his dispatches should be interesting, as would his memoirs on this occasion.

True readable Mencken, a little boring about his finances and house repairs, but Mencken all the same.

ARTHUR J. GUTMAN
Baltimore

A Quaker Family through Six Generations: Passmores in America. By Robert Houston Smith. (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992. Pp. v, 323. Bibliography, notes, illus., index. $79.95.)

William and John Passmore were colonial settlers in Pennsylvania who have thousands of descendants living across the United States and who have not been the subject of any comprehensive genealogical study. The author states in his preface that he wanted to locate their English origins, then trace so far as possible the first six generations of descendants in the female and male lines. Examining the English generations of the family, Smith has used parish registers and wills to document the generations and has enhanced our understanding of the life, times, and geographic setting of their pre-colonial ancestors with maps, illustrations, and even a poem (which describes work in a clothier's house).

Any genealogist attempting to connect an American family with its European antecedents must be sure his links are well forged. Smith has used records of the Society of Friends, family papers, and wills (including that of William Passmore, the settler) to bridge the Atlantic. Chapters dealing with the family in America are

well documented, although not every census or obituary notice was listed. Several descendants moved to Maryland, with scions of different branches settling in Harford and Cecil counties. If the book has a fault it is the lack of one of the standard numbering systems that enable researchers to trace a line forward or backward, but this omission is more than offset by a complete name index.

In writing his book, Smith has meticulously described geographical references and legal terms in England and discussed possible reasons for the actions and movements of the family. The final chapter deals with the Passmores in American wars, migrations, economic development and social changes. It may be this chapter that lifts the book above the level of so many family histories.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall

Early American Methodism. By Russell E. Richey. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991. Pp. xix, 97. Appendix, notes, index. $25.)

The title of this work is certain to attract the attention of the growing number of American historians who want to know more about the role of the early Methodists in the formative years of the republic. As Nathan Hatch observed in his recently published *The Democratization of American Christianity* (Yale, 1989) of the Methodists constitutes one of the most conspicuous voids in American religious history. Those who no longer view the history of American Christianity as simply, or even primarily, an expansion and modification of New England Puritanism want to know more about why the early Methodists increased so rapidly and what impact they had on public policy.

This work does not address those issues. It is not a monograph presenting a single thesis but a collection of six essays, some previously published, which are here connected by a unifying theme. The author has developed a conceptual framework that describes what he calls the four languages of Methodism. Referring to his work as "a vernacular reading of Methodist history," Richey addresses a specialized audience familiar with that history and suggests that "some readers may wish to turn to more 'balanced' or conventional reading for reference" (p. xix). The Methodists' "central problem," he states, "was that of living with these languages, accommodating them to one another, translating among them" (p. xi).

The four languages to which Richey refers are (1) "the vernacular of religious experience," which the Methodists shared with evangelicals; (2) a uniquely Wesleyan "distinguishing tongue," which employed terms such as class, itinerancy, circuits, love feasts and quarterly meetings; (3) "an episcopal language" borrowed from the Church of England; and (4) "an American political idiom" (pp. xvi–xvii). It is clear that the first two are the more important ones, for the episcopal language "proved difficult to integrate" and the political idiom "came into prominence" only in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Some, perhaps, will raise questions about some of the author's assumptions and assertions. He states, for example, that "early Methodism had an Edenic quality

to it," although he concedes that it was "a troubled Eden" (p. xii). "Community, fraternity, and order" he states, "characterized early Methodist ecclesial experience" (p. 1). But "brotherhood," when used to describe the early preachers, is accurate only if the right model is kept in mind. While it was certainly not the violent relationship of Cain and Abel, it was very much that of Jacob and Esau as they fought for the "birthright"—the right to use Wesley's name. From the arrival of Asbury in 1771 until the death of Wesley twenty years later battles were fought over such matters as where they should focus their efforts, a stationed as opposed to itinerant ministry, who should lead, and whether they should administer the sacraments.

Richey states that the Marylander Freeborn Garrettson "as his first act after conversion" freed his slaves and "thereafter preached abolition" (p. xii). Garrison was indeed opposed to slavery. Born in Maryland in 1752, Garrettson grew up during the peak of the American Enlightenment—the same environment that led to the kind of opposition to slavery reflected in Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence, coincidentally written in the same month and year that Garrison was converted. His effort was to achieve manumission through moral suasion. He preached manumission, not abolition, a distinction which is vital in an analysis of the history of the period.

A helpful addition to the list of "languages" would be the theological language of Wesleyan Arminianism. Young preachers without formal education used Wesley's sermons as models for their own. Thus the "ignorant" Methodists like Ebenezer Newell, William McKendree, Robert R. Roberts, John Stewart, and Freeborn Garrettson started with the same assumptions, used the same arguments, and reached the same conclusions as James Arminius and John Wesley.

The work is a significant addition to the literature of Methodism and should be in their college and seminary libraries. Richey states that his purpose in writing would "be well served if . . . readers gain fresh insight into early Methodism and can take that insight to its literature or other historical treatments" (p. xvi). A profitable follow-up would be an exploration of the theological language of contingency which the early Methodists preached so convincingly to their congregations. It was, to use a modern phrase, "empowerment" to take responsibility for one's own actions and even his eternal destiny. Such a study might reveal that not only was Methodism Americanized, as has often been observed, but America was Methodized to a greater extent than has been previously realized.

RAYMOND P. COWAN
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The Original Misunderstanding: The English, the Americans and the Dialectic of Federalist Jurisprudence. By Stephen B. Presser. (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1991. Pp. xii, 272. Notes, bibliography, index. $34.95.)

The Original Misunderstanding is three books in one. It is a history of jurisprudence in the early years of the lower federal courts, a judicial biography of

Maryland's Samuel Chase, whom Presser treats as the archetypical Federalist judge, and a piece of original-understanding scholarship designed to illuminate current debates over constitutional and legal morality.

Samuel Chase's jurisprudence as it evolved during his tenure as a federal judge gives this study its narrative and analytical coherence. Chase, Maryland's "Stormy Patriot," was a demagogue in his youth, but his exposure to English conservatism during a visit to England in 1783–84 (including two weeks spent with Edmund Burke), together with his visceral reaction against the excesses of the French Revolution and his fears that those excesses might be repeated in America, soon led him to a less democratic position.

Consequently, Chase's jurisprudence "was as much about culture, morality, and religion as it was about politics" (p. 8). He also based his reading of the constitution on a traditional understanding of English common law. This perspective led him to emphasize social hierarchy and deference over unfettered democracy. He emulated England's "confident and overbearing judiciary" (pp. 47–48) by exercising strict control over that quintessential democratic institution, the jury.

That got Chase into trouble. In two major trials in 1800 (a treason trial and a prosecution under the Alien and Sedition Acts), the Republican (Jeffersonian) press interpreted his restrictions on the evidence submitted to the jury as attacks on popular sovereignty. Though his actions were perfectly consistent with conservative English and Maryland law, Chase had stumbled into an ideological crossfire. Because the Jeffersonians' jurisprudence drew upon an English legacy of opposition to the conservative tradition, they turned his behavior in these two trials into an issue in the presidential campaign between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams and ultimately impeached Chase for his actions. Ironically, neither jurisprudence survived the collision. Instead, the Marshall court and its successors combined the Federalist emphasis on economic development with Jeffersonian democracy to create a new, liberal jurisprudential synthesis. The common ground between the Federalists and Jeffersonians—republican ideology—was left behind.

Presser's presentation is not without problems. The connection between English and American political ideologies is vital to his thesis, yet he makes precious few direct connections between Chase and specific English thinkers. In addition, distressingly few works on English law and politics appear in the notes and bibliography. He even neglects recent work on English political conservatism, including the religious dimension he seeks to emphasize. To cite but one example, Jonathan Clark's *English Society, 1688–1832: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) might have helped Presser to sharpen his analysis.

Stylistic problems also mar this book. Much of it appeared originally in four articles, here rather poorly blended together. For example, a fourteen-page essay on a scholarly debate that Presser himself considers tangential to his main argument was apparently included only because it was part of an earlier article (pp. 80–94). Such digressions lead to some confusion. The reader's bewilderment would be even greater if not for Presser's frequent announcements as to his

authorial strategy. Alas, these asides are nearly as distracting as Presser's digressions.

Unfortunately, these serious problems detract from Presser's genuinely important scholarly contributions. As an "originalist" manifesto, this book is gently non-prescriptive. In addition, Presser amply demonstrates the continued existence of a thriving Anglo-American "conservative" ideology as well as the high degree of adherence to the particulars of English common law by many American jurists. Above all he challenges historians to replace the Jeffersonian critique of the Federalists in general and of Samuel Chase in particular—the winners wrote this history—with an understanding of the "losers" on their own terms. Students of Maryland history should read this book to understand Samuel Chase, and legal scholars will find it a valuable corrective to the hagiography surrounding Chase's nineteenth-century successors.

JAMES D. RICE
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Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln. By Michael F. Holt. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1992. Pp. 365. Footnotes, index. Price unlisted.)

"Does the world move," Carl Becker asked a half-century ago, "and if so in what direction?" Despite their radically different responses, few modern historians would contest Becker's premise that their craft should illuminate social change. Nevertheless, individual practitioners remain remarkably unreflective about transformations in their own styles of thought. Like the hedgehog, some scholars burrow a single "big question" throughout their careers; others, like the fox, probe a host of smaller ones. Yet rarely will historians of either breed discuss how their approach to these issues—like the world they describe—changed over time.

Michael Holt's recently collected set of essays provides a welcome exception. Holt is clearly a hedgehog: spanning two decades, the ten essays reveal his dogged search for the underlying dynamic of antebellum American politics. But they also bear eloquent testimony to Holt's own development, as a historian. Lest readers miss the point, Holt introduces the volume with an explicit defense of his evolving interpretations. He thereby solves another problem endemic to collections of this kind, which too often start with tepid summaries of the author's work and fail to anchor it within a larger analytic structure.

For Holt, the "new political history" provided the first such framework. It held that American politics was powered not by issues or leaders—the ephemeral "claptrap" of campaign rhetoric—but by deeper patterns in voter behavior. Close statistical studies seemed to show long stretches of fierce party loyalty, punctuated by periodic voter "realignments." For the most part, then, outcomes reflected voters' fixed attitudes—especially, some said, their "ethnocultural" values—rather than their reasoned responses to the flitting, fluctuating questions of the day. Like Holt's 1969 book on the formation of the Republican party in Pittsburgh, his early

essays on the Democrats, Anti-Masons, and Know-Nothings bear the unmistakable mark of this influential interpretation.

But they also reflect an embryonic appreciation of its limitations. A strictly "ethnocultural" interpretation of third-party alternatives, for example, cannot account for their sudden popularity among propertyless laborers and other Americans who feared the consequences of rapid economic change. More fundamentally, however, any reading based solely upon voters' identities—whether cultural or economic—fails to explain why citizens embraced or eschewed third parties at any given juncture. Such questions demand additional analysis of political structures, especially the state of the two major parties at the time. The Know Nothings, for example, ascended during an era of escalating dissatisfaction with the Democrats and the Whigs. Lacking substantive policy differences, both parties seemed petrified by patronage and corruption. Thus the meteoric flash of the Know-Nothings, who pledged to redeem the republic by restoring power to the electorate. They fizzled, in turn, when defeated hacks from the old parties gained control of the new one and severely tarnished its allure. The antiparty mantle then fell to the Republicans, whose successive nominations of a youthful "Pathfinder" and a little-known "Rail-splitter"—Fremont and Lincoln—reflected the same unease with politics-as-usual.

All of this will sound fairly familiar to specialists, who may wish to skip directly to Holt's more recent essays on the Whigs. Here he departs more radically from his older premises, arguing that elections represented referenda upon a party's performance rather than mechanical restatements of its members' "values." Ironically, however, this new foray into rational choice theory brings Holt back to the oldest form of historical writing: the chronological narrative, centered upon political elites and sensitive to unpredictable events. Hence he painstakingly reconstructs Whig responses to the nation's fluttering economic fortunes between 1836 and 1840, showing that William Henry Harrison's "Log Cabin" victory stemmed less from the ballyhoo of his campaign than from his party's policy record in Congress and especially in statehouses. Likewise, the Whigs' 1848 nomination of another military hero, Zachary Taylor, was rooted not just in their wish to avoid the slavery issue but in controversies over Texas annexation, the Mexican War, immigration policy, banking, and the tariff. Each question promised redemption for the battered party, until unforeseen contingencies intervened: following a tariff cut, for example, crop failures in Europe boosted foreign demand for American grain and undermined Whig warnings about the perils of free trade. Thus party leaders turned to Taylor, whose detached, Olympian manner paved "the only road to victory in 1848" (p. 232). Yet Holt has almost nothing to say about the general election, which would appear to contradict his strictures about the salience of party policies and platforms. Indeed, given Whig defeats on each issue that Holt enumerates, Taylor's triumph seems even more tied to slavery than we thought before. Or else it might simply reflect Taylor's personal charisma, as Whig strategists wrote. This latter notion, especially, sits awkwardly next to Holt's new

insistence that voters "reacted in a rational way to what national and state governments did" (p. 21).

Holt's admirable attempt to link voters and policy-making also ignores the vast corpus of new research about blacks, women, workers, and other ordinary antebellum Americans. In his struggle to transcend the "new political history" and its tired emphasis upon party identification, that is, Holt apparently jettisons the "new social history" as well. Much of this work, of course, concerns people who could not cast ballots. Nevertheless, they remain relevant to Holt's story. To take just one example, scholars have shown how women's "separate sphere" became a symbolic fortress for the old republicanism that partisan politics had squelched. Hence female presence at Whig rallies—especially in 1840—helped stamp the party as the guarantor of "virtue," despite the tumultuous, competitive world in which it otherwise operated. By the 1850s, however, women were no longer content to serve simply as political icons. Increasingly, they demanded a more substantive function: the ballot. Some even sought representation at party conventions, although again without success. In the minds of many, however, even these minor incursions besmirched women's supposedly nonpartisan "virtue"—and with it, one suspects, the Whigs' reputation as the repository of the same. These developments may also have contributed to the overall anxiety surrounding politics in the 1850s, since women no longer embodied the traditional verities that would protect the republic against wire-pulling and the other sins of partisan life.

Finally, we might also hope that Holt further applies his wealth of knowledge and analysis to modern American politics. His collection's lone comparative effort—and the only essay that has not appeared elsewhere—brilliantly dissects the post-1850 demise of the Whigs by contrasting it to Republican survival in the 1970s. Stung by Watergate and the resignation of Richard Nixon, the GOP suffered congressional losses every bit as calamitous as those incurred by the Whigs after Taylor died. Both parties promptly lost the White House, thanks to sharp regional and ideological rifts within each. But the GOP lived to fight another day, because no third-party alternative arose to vie for voters. Disgruntled Republicans could turn only to the Democrats or to John Anderson, who polled a mere 8 percent of the electorate. Holt views Anderson as a paradigmatic "Lone Ranger" of modern American politics, focused solely upon the presidency and lacking the "ground-up political movement" (p. 252) that powered antebellum third parties. After Holt's book went to press, however, the nation found an independent White House aspirant who also generated massive grass-roots activity. Ross Perot garnered nearly one out of every five votes, easily the strongest challenge to the major parties since the Progressives. Although much of this success came straight from Perot's wallet, at least some of it must be attributed to the sizeable movement that he spawned. Perhaps a master like Michael Holt can help us separate these threads and situate Perot more firmly in America's rich political past.

JONATHAN ZIMMERMAN
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Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism. By George C. Rable. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1989. Pp. 391. $13.95 paper.)

"These times are making strong women," wrote Southerner Kate Burruss in 1864 (p. 112). Indeed, George Rable finds numerous instances in which the lives of Southern women changed dramatically as a result of the exigencies of the Civil War. As husbands, fathers, and brothers left the fields for the front lines, women assumed traditionally male roles and were left to manage plantations, teach the children, nurse the wounded, raise money for Confederate causes, protect their homes, and face an invading army. Southern women, because of the extraordinary circumstances of war, began to display "growing assertiveness and power" at home (p. 56). This new-found assertiveness spilled over into the traditionally male-dominated public sphere. For example, they penned scores of letters to Confederate political and military leaders seeking commissions, favors, discharges, and medical exemptions for their menfolk in combat. They chastised officials for corruption, cowardice, class favoritism, inequities in the draft, and for being inattentive to the needs of families. When appeals or protests to Confederate leaders failed, Southern women often took more direct action, from encouraging loved ones to desert and by "rioting" and looting to provide their families with staples like bread.

Despite such forays into unconventional gender behavior, Rable argues that changes in gender roles were short-lived and were never intended to be permanent. "In both theory and practice, an essential conservatism prevailed . . . " (p. 112). The war had in fact opened the doors of opportunity to Confederate women, but at war's end they just as quickly closed. In short, the "Confederacy had not promised a domestic revolution, and none occurred" (p. 227). Despite occasional complaints, women accepted their designated subordinate roles in the economic, social, and familial order, and "stood by the values of their culture" (p. 30).

In *Civil Wars* we see quite vividly the impact of war on the homefront. The war destroyed families and wrought emotional crises of monumental proportions. Despair, pessimism, helplessness and disaffection reigned by war's end. Rable suggests that financial devastation delivered the death blow to homefront support for the Confederacy. Poverty, hunger, inflation, indebtedness, and shortages produced extensive personal tragedy and suffering. Early fervor for the war and the Confederacy waned in the face of personal loss. Southern women, experiencing unprecedented economic hardship, came to doubt the cause of the Confederacy and subsequently withdrew their support, thus undermining the war effort and helping to bring the conflagration to an end. Rable concludes that "women had contributed to the decline of Confederate military power" (p. 89). Far from being passive and uninvolved in the machinations of war, women actually played a crucial role in the war's outcome.

Rable's strategy of focusing on Southern women before, during, and after the chasm of the Civil War provides a useful model for Southern historians. Too often historians, especially of the South, limit their scope to either the antebellum or

postbellum period with little regard to the effects of the war on their subjects. The longer time frame better enables us to assess the subject of change. To that end, Rable does not see the Civil War as a great watershed for Southern women as Anne Firor Scot an others have argued. Rable is generally persuasive, yet a few qualifications are worth noting. First, as Rable concedes himself, his sources are limited almost exclusively to the writings of well-to-do and oft-quoted white women, such as Catherine Edmonston, Mary Chestnut, Kate Stone, and Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas. Yet one has to wonder whether the use of traditional elite sources is the most effective way to assess change in women's status. Analyses of marriage, divorce, illegitimacy, wills, and proprietorships before, during, and after the war as well as court records and newspaper accounts could allow us to chart the status of women before, during and after the Civil War with more assurance. Secondly, Rable contends that despite disillusionment with individuals in and aspects of the Confederacy, Southern women never sought to challenge the existing "male-dominated political order" (p. 35). He cites as evidence the refusal of Southern women to "join the Northern advocates of female suffrage," which leads Rable to a disconcerting assumption, that postbellum Southern women were essentially passive (p. 235). Yet, as Suzanne Lebsock's study of Petersburg reveals, changes in women's status can in fact take place in the absence of organized feminism. Rable's repeated references to women's "powerlessness" and "passivity," (see for example pp. 203, 207, 235, 268) seem untenable in light of his conclusion that Southern women's actions did in fact help bring the war to end.

While Rable's argument that Civil War changed little for Southern women is compelling, the reasons remain largely unexplored. While the war brought fundamental economic, social and political changes to the North, in effect laying the groundwork for a modern, urban society, the South remained a rural, traditional, Evangelical society in which family and kin ties continued to shape a woman's world. These factors, as Jean Friedman has argued, inhibited female autonomy. Neither should we overlook Southern white soldiers returned home, demoralized, perhaps crippled, most likely economically devastated, and assuredly stripped of political power. It seems plausible that such men might reassert their masculinity and domination in the only available arena, the home and family. It seems doubtful that Southern women, could sustain any gains made during wartime under such conditions.

Southern society encouraged its women to sacrifice and suffer quietly, to remain patient, dependent and subservient. The Civil War challenged those traditional assumptions about prescribed gender behavior and yielded a multiplicity of responses from Southern women, many of which were ambiguous and contradictory and which ultimately hurt the cause of the Confederacy. George Rable examines those responses yet ultimately fails to tease out the full implications.

DIANE MILLER SOMMERVILLE
Rutgers University

Boston Against Busing: Race, Class and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s. By Ronald P. Formisano (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. Pp. i–xvi, 1–323. Notes and index. $34.95 cloth; $12.95 paper.)

In the wake of the southern desegregation struggles of the 1950s and 60s and at the behest of liberal members, the Massachusetts legislature in 1965 passed the Racial Imbalance Act (RIA), forbidding "ethnic imbalance" in schools. Though de jure the law applied to the whole state, de facto Boston was the target, as the vast bulk of Massachusetts black citizens lived within the city limits. Dominated by conservative, blue-collar Irish, the city's five-member school committee for nine years refused to implement the provisions of the RIA or made only token concessions. In the academic year 1965–66, there had been forty-six black-majority "imbalanced" schools in the city. By 1972–73 not only had this number not decreased (as per the demands of the act); it had in fact increased to seventy-five, as whites fled to the suburbs or sent their children to private or parochial schools. The committee steadfastly refused to redraw school-district boundaries so as to feed more black children into white schools and vice-versa. With almost the entire political establishment of the city opposed to school integration, there was little the state could do. In March 1974 the U.S. House passed anti-busing legislation. In April the Bay State legislature repealed the RIA.

Earlier the NAACP had filed a federal class-action suit against the state school board and the city school committee. After various lower-court appeals (Formisano does not say how many), on 21 June 1974, Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, Jr. handed down a decision removing school authority from the committee and relocating it in the federal courts. Busing of students began at the start of the following school year, between the schools of the black Roxbury neighborhood and the solidly Irish, working-class area of South Boston (Southie). Notwithstanding a legal appeal by the committee, the decision stood, later to be expanded to cover a number of other neighborhoods. The result was an outpouring of public anger on the part of Boston's whites: much of it directed physically against black incoming students, and rhetorically against the white liberal establishment, especially Judge Garrity, derided as a suburban "two-toilet Irishman." When the school year started, buses were stoned, students of both races were routinely beaten up and a murder or two were committed. Vandalism was rife, and arson not uncommon. The problem was never resolved. It just petered out, as other political concerns came to dominate in the 1980s. Judge Garrity bowed out in September 1985, returning authority to the school committee and retaining only an oversight role for the courts.

Though he dares not say so, Formisano clearly feels some sympathy for the Irish and later Italian ethnics who dominated the conflict. Without question, the behavior of the antibusing extremists was abominable; however, it cannot be denied that they felt an enormous sense of injustice. There can be small doubt that Garrity's initial decision to pair conservative Southie with Roxbury was motivated more by punitive concerns than by practical ones, and Formisano is correct to draw attention to this. It had been Southie and its pols that had been most impervious to the dictates of the RIA. That busing was a failure few can now deny. Whites

fled, many genuinely afraid of black crime and violence, and because of this white flight the goal of integration was never achieved. Garrity and his advisors denied that significant flight was happening at all, but in 1973 60 percent of Boston's schoolchildren had been white; in 1987 only 27 percent were white.

If whites were leaving for the suburbs, one must ask why was the plan not expanded to incorporate them, too. This is, in fact, *the* question. As far as Boston ethnics were concerned, the suburbanites were happy enough to see Garrity's social engineering carried out within the city limits—as long as their, considerably more refined, children were not subjected to it. The state board of education refused to countenance metro-area, as opposed to city-limits, desegregation. And most white suburbs declined to participate in the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity scheme, which was a voluntary busing plan to allow a limited number of black students to attend suburban schools. It was established in 1966, supported by the federal government and a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. Though popular among blacks, it never bused more than 2,500 students at a time. Given the obvious continuity of suburbia's reticence to accept black students, it detracts from the book that Formisano gives it little more than passing mention. The resistance of working-class whites to busing is only part of the picture. The combined sanctimony and reluctance-to-participate of the white, liberal establishment deserves more attention than Formisano gives it. And his failure to address the opinions of black Bostonians in anything other than the most cursory manner is a considerable oversight.

"For many antibusers who were not racists and were not prejudiced, the court orders amounted to having other people's values forced on them, a situation made all the more unpalatable by the evident fact that others did not need to abide by those same values" (p. 237). This passage sums up the most important theme of this book, though it is a theme that remains somewhat muted. Busing was a charade, a demonstration of liberal piety, conducted upon others for outside consumption. If the true aim was integration, it conspicuously failed because of white flight. If the true aim was merely improved education for blacks, then it also failed. The busing of students from black to white ghetto schools could not seriously be expected to improve standards in any meaningful way. It was not, after all, as though South Boston High was any exemplar of educational excellence even before the pitched battles resulting from busing began.

D. P. MUNRO
Heritage Foundation

Books Received

A third-generation physician and a prominent member of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland (whose bicentennial approaches), Dr. Theodore E. Woodward understandably has a keen sense of history. Dr. Woodward's *Carroll County Physicians of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* takes an affectionate and informative look at the practice of medicine in his home county. Besides illustrations of local doctors and their offices (often their homes as well), he opens an early doctor's bag—showing readers what instruments they used and pills they carried in the days when family practice usually meant being part of the patient's family. The executive director of the county's historical society, Joseph M. Getty, offers a helpful foreword. A priceless source book for Carroll County history lovers and students of medical history alike, Dr. Woodward's book belongs in a commendable series of publications aimed at the "preservation and interpretation of Carroll County's heritage."

Historical Society of Carroll County, $20

Another county-focused volume that generously rewards its readers, Louise Ash's *Hickory Stick to Computer Chip: A History of Public Education in Worcester County, Maryland*, explores a variety of issues of continuing interest to us all: racial inequities in classrooms (see especially uneven funding in the era of "separate but equal" white and "colored" schools); questions about adequate teacher training and testing (early in this century teachers in the elementary grades often taught without normal school degrees, but only after passing qualifying tests); distinctions between programs and events for boys and girls (beginning in the 1930s boys were introduced to "home ec" classses while girls began to participate in their own field days); debate over curriculum standardization; discussion of disciplinary standards and their enforcement; changing attitudes toward instructional television (and other technologies); the problems, benefits, and costs of school consolidation (one-room school houses look pretty good in retrospect)—and the list goes on. Fascinating as anecdotal history, the modest study concludes with a chapter entitled, "Past+Present+Choices+Decisions+Funding=the Future." Everyone concerned about the state of and prospects for public education in Maryland should spend some time with this little book.

Worcester County Retired Teachers Association, $10

William Schellberg grew up in the West Baltimore (heavily German-American) that H.L. Mencken made famous in his recollections of boyhood. Unlike Mencken, Schellberg got called to military service in World War I, eventually being assigned to the 313th Infantry's machine-gun company. His letters home to his family—collected, faithfully transcribed, lightly annotated, and well indexed—make up Jerry Harlowe's *Your Brother Will: The Great War Letters and Diary of William Shellberg*.

Frederick C. Maisel III of Boys' Latin School rightly notes in a foreword that books about battles and campaigns too often describe "only by tactical movements and nameless statistics. In reality," he writes, "they are fought by people, individuals with the same emotions and desires that most of us have today." Shellberg's letters combine "the technical detail of a private . . . with the personal views of an average citizen."

Patapsco Falls Press, $10

Nelson M. Seese has written a charming recollection of growing up in Montgomery County in the 1930s and 40s. Sesse tells of pets, adventures, vacations, family, friends—all in the nature of a whimsical story for young adults. Those people who shared such experiences will also enjoy his tales, however, especially those who remember Bethesda when it was a country-crossroads town.

Lizmar Press, $9.75

In 1884 Ben C. Truman published *The Field of Honor*, offering a view of duels based on eyewitness and contemporary newspaper accounts. Truman's net pulled in stories about men like Sam Bowie, Andrew Jackson, Sam Houston, Aaron Burr, and Stephen Decatur, along with assorted editors and star-crossed lovers. Rearranged and shortened by Steven Randolph Wood, Truman's volume now appears as a paperback in a series notably entitled The Classical Library of the Obscure and Remote.

Joseph Tabler, $12.95

Notices

Undergraduate Essay Contest

The Education Committee of the Maryland Historical Society announces its fourth annual undergraduate essay contest. Papers must be on a Maryland subject and make use of primary sources. A prize of $250 will be awarded to the best essayist. The deadline for submission is 15 June 1993. Please send papers to the Education Department, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201.

Maritime History Contest

The Maritime Committee of the Maryland Historical Society and the University of Maryland Educational Fund are pleased to announce the fourth annual Maryland Maritime History Essay Contest, the purpose of which is to stimulate research in Maryland maritime history. Subjects prospective authors might consider include all aspects of Maryland seafaring: ships, sailing vessels, steamboats, small craft, and their equipment, cargoes, passengers carried on Maryland vessels, naval officers and crew, maritime shipping, transportation, ports and economics, naval activities and maritime law. Papers should rely on primary source materials, not exceed 6,000 words in length, and follow the contributor's guidelines listed in the spring 1989 issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*. The deadline for submission will be 29 May 1993, with the winners announced in the fall of 1993. Cash awards will be made. Participants must submit four copies of their entry to the Maritime Essay Contest, the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. For further information, call Byrne Waterman or Cathy Rogers at the Historical Society, (410) 685-3750.

Scholars Seeking Information on Maryland Music

Two scholars are seeking information on Maryland music between 1634 and 1945. The information will be included in a fully illustrated book exploring the state's musical history which Johns Hopkins University Press will publish in 1994. Anyone who would like to share information on this subject for the years 1634–1865 may contact Dr. David Hildebrand at 276 Oak Court, Severna Park, MD 21146. Information covering 1865–1945 should be directed to Elizabeth Schaaf, Archivist, The Peabody Institute of the Johns Hopkins University, 1 East Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore, MD 21202.

Maryland Archeology Week

The first annual Maryland Archeology Week will be observed across the state during 20–28 March 1993. Special lectures, exhibits, and workshops will focus on recent archeological discoveries in Maryland and the importance of protecting these non-renewable resources. Maryland Archeology Week is a joint project of the Archeological Society of Maryland, Inc., the Council for Maryland Archeology, and the Maryland Historical Trust's office of archeology. For a detailed calendar of events and other information about Maryland Archeology Week, contact the Office of Archeology, Maryland Historical Trust, 100 Community Place, Crownsville, Maryland 21032, phone (410) 514-7661.

Awards for Historic Preservation

Montgomery Preservation, Inc., announces its 1993 Awards for Historic Preservation. The annual awards ceremony and reception will be on 13 May. Nominations are due by 22 March. For further information, contact Dean Brenneman, Chair of the Press Relations Committee at (301) 340-7444.

Symposium on 16th Century Roanoke Island

The National Park Service and Eastern National Park and Monument Association are sponsoring "Roanoke Decoded." This four-day major symposium will feature thrity-three different presentations by national and international scholars. It will be held 13–16 May 1993 at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. There is no admission charge. For more information, contact Bebe Woody, Project Coordinator, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Route 1, Box 675, Manteo, North Carolina 27954.

The James Madison Prize

The Center for the Study of the American Constitution will award the James Madison Prize for the best unpublished book-length manuscript in early american history, politics, society, or culture. The winning author will be awarded $1,000, a medal, and publication of the manuscript by Madison House Publishers. Deadline for submission is 1 May 1993. Submit two copies of the manuscript along with an abstract and curriculum vitae to John P. Kaminski, Director, Center for the Study of the American Constitution, Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 455 North Park Street, Madison, WI 53706.

Spring Exhibitions at the Delaware Art Museum

"The Artist and the Baseball Card" and "This Sporting Life, 1878–1991" will be

on exhibit from 30 April to 27 June 1993 at the Delaware Art Museum. Both exhibits explore the universal language of sports and their impact on our culture. For more information contact Melissa H. Mulrooney at (302) 571-9590.

Join the Arkansas Historical Association

Those persons who wish to learn more about President Bill Clinton's home state will find the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* a stimulating source of information. To join the Arkansas Historical Association send $16 to 416 Old Main, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

This Picture Puzzle shows a street scene outside Baltimore. Please identify the street and city in which it is located. Are the buildings still standing today?

The winter 1992Picture Puzzle featured the John Eager Howard family tomb in the Old St. Paul's Cemetery in Baltimore. The cemetery is located to the east of Martin Luther King Boulevard between Redwood and Lombard streets. The Old St. Paul's Cemetery Restoration Committee is conducting research and pursuing an historic landscape restoration. For more information, please contact:

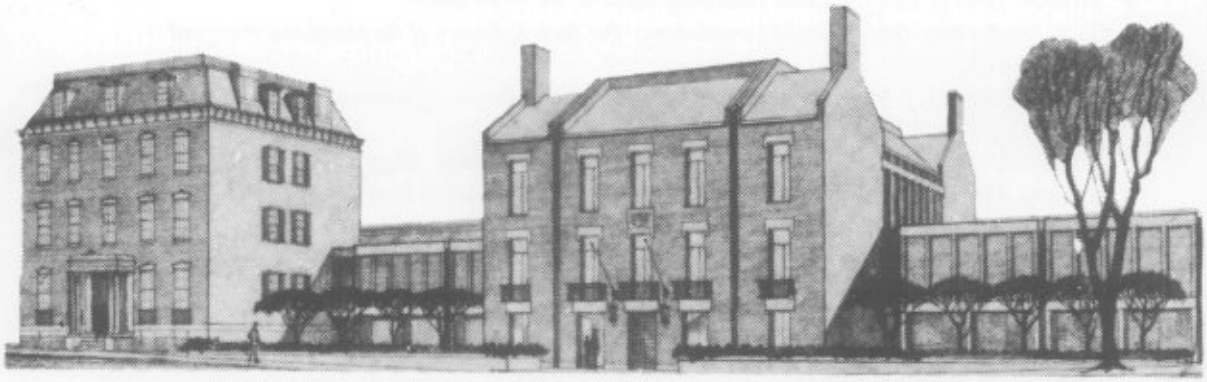
Ruth Mascari, Project Coordinator
17210 Whitely Road
Monkton, MD 21111

Our congratulations to the following individuals who correctly identified the fall 1992 Picture Puzzle: Mr. Raymond Martin, Mr. Percy Martin, Mrs. Martin E. Boessel, Jr., Mr. John Riggs Orrick, Mr. Russell D. Ehle, Mr. Albert L. Morris, Mr. Carlos P. Avery, Mr. Abbott Wainwright, Mr. James Thomas Wollon, Jr., Mrs. Frederick R. Dowsett, Mr. Wallace Shugg, and Brig. Gen. J. A. M. Lettre.

Maryland Historical Society Publications List
Best Sellers

* CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *Maryland Political Behavior.* 64pp. 1986. $4.50 ($4.05)
* COLWILL, STILES T. *Francis Guy, 1760–1820.* 139pp. Illus. 1981. (paper) $15.00 ($13.50)
* COLWILL, STILES T. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son, Trafford Partridge Klots.* 136pp. Illus. 1979. $9.50 ($8.05)
* ELLIS, DONNA, and STUART, KAREN. *The Calvert Papers Calendar and Guide to the Microfilm Edition.* 202pp. Illus. 1989 $17.95 ($16.15)
* FOSTER, JAMES W. *George Calvert: The Early Years.* 128pp. 1983. $4.95 ($4.45)
* GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Silver in Maryland.* 334pp. 1983. $30.00 ($27.00)
* HAW, JAMES; BEIRNE, FRANCIS F. and ROSAMOND R.; and JETT, R. SAMUEL. *Stormy Patriot: The Life of Samuel Chase.* 305pp. 1980. $14.95 ($13.45)
* HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN. *Maryland's Maritime Heritage: A Guide to the Collections of the Radcliffe Maritime Museum.* 31pp. Illus. 1984 $3.00 ($2.70)
* KAHN, PHILLIP JR. *A Stitch in Time The Four Seasons of Baltimore's Needle Trades.* 242 pp. Illus. 1989 $25.00 ($22.50)
* KENNY, HAMILL. *The Placenames of Maryland: Their Origin and Meaning.* 352pp. 1984. $17.50 ($15.75)
* KEY, BETTY McKEEVER. *Maryland Manual of Oral History.* 47pp. 1979 $3.00 ($2.70)
* KEY, BETTY McKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland: A Directory.* 44pp. 1981. $3.00 ($2.70)
* MANAKEE, HAROLD R. *Indians of Early Maryland.* 47pp. 3rd printing,1981. $3.00 ($2.70)
* *The Mapping of Maryland 1590–1914: An Overview.* 72pp. 1982. $6.00 ($5.40)
* MARKS, LILLIAN BAYLY. *Reister's Desire: The Origins of Reisterstown . . . (Reister and allied families).* 251pp. 1975. $15.00 ($13.50)
* *Maryland Heritage: Five Baltimore Institutions Celebrate the American Bicentennial.* Ed. by J. B. Boles. 253pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) $7.50 ($6.75) (hard cover) $15.00 ($13.50)
* *MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINES.* $6.00 per issue.
* MEYER, MARY K. *Genealogical Research in Maryland—A Guide.* 4th Ed. 1992. $12.00 ($10.80)
* *News and Notes* of the Maryland Historical Society. $2.00 an issue.
* *(Peale Family) Four Generations of Commissions: The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 187pp. Illus. 1975. $4.00 ($3.60)
* PEDLEY, AVRIL J. M. *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society.* Supplemented by #13 390pp. 1968. $20.00 ($18.00)
* PORTER, FRANK W., III. *Maryland Indians Yesterday and Today.* 26pp. 1983. $4.95 ($4.45)
* RUSSO, JEAN B., *Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage.* 110 pp. 1991. ($6.95).
* STIVERSON, GREGORY A. and JACOBSEN, PHEBE R. *William Paca: A Biography.* 103pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) $4.95 ($4.45) (hard cover) $7.95 ($7.15)
* WEEKLEY, CAROLYN J.; COLWILL, STILES T., et al. *Joshua Johnson, Freeman and Early American Portrait Painter.* 173pp. Illus. 1987. $25.00 ($22.50)
* WEIDMAN, GREGORY R. *Furniture in Maryland, 1740–1940 in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 344pp. 1984. $37.50 ($33.75)
* *Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History.* 24 titles, 1945–1962. Important for schools; $.50 each, $10.00 set.

Members of the Maryland Historical Society may take the 10 percent discount in parentheses above. Prices subject to change. All orders must be prepaid. Maryland residents add 5 percent state sales tax. Include postage and handling charge of $3.00 for the first item and $.50 for each additional item. *Address orders to:* Publications Marketing, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.



Maryland Historical Society
Museum and Library of Maryland History
201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland, 21201

Museum and Library: Tues.—Fri. 10 – 4:30, Sat. 9 – 4:30
For Exhibition Hours and Information, Call (410) 685-3750